

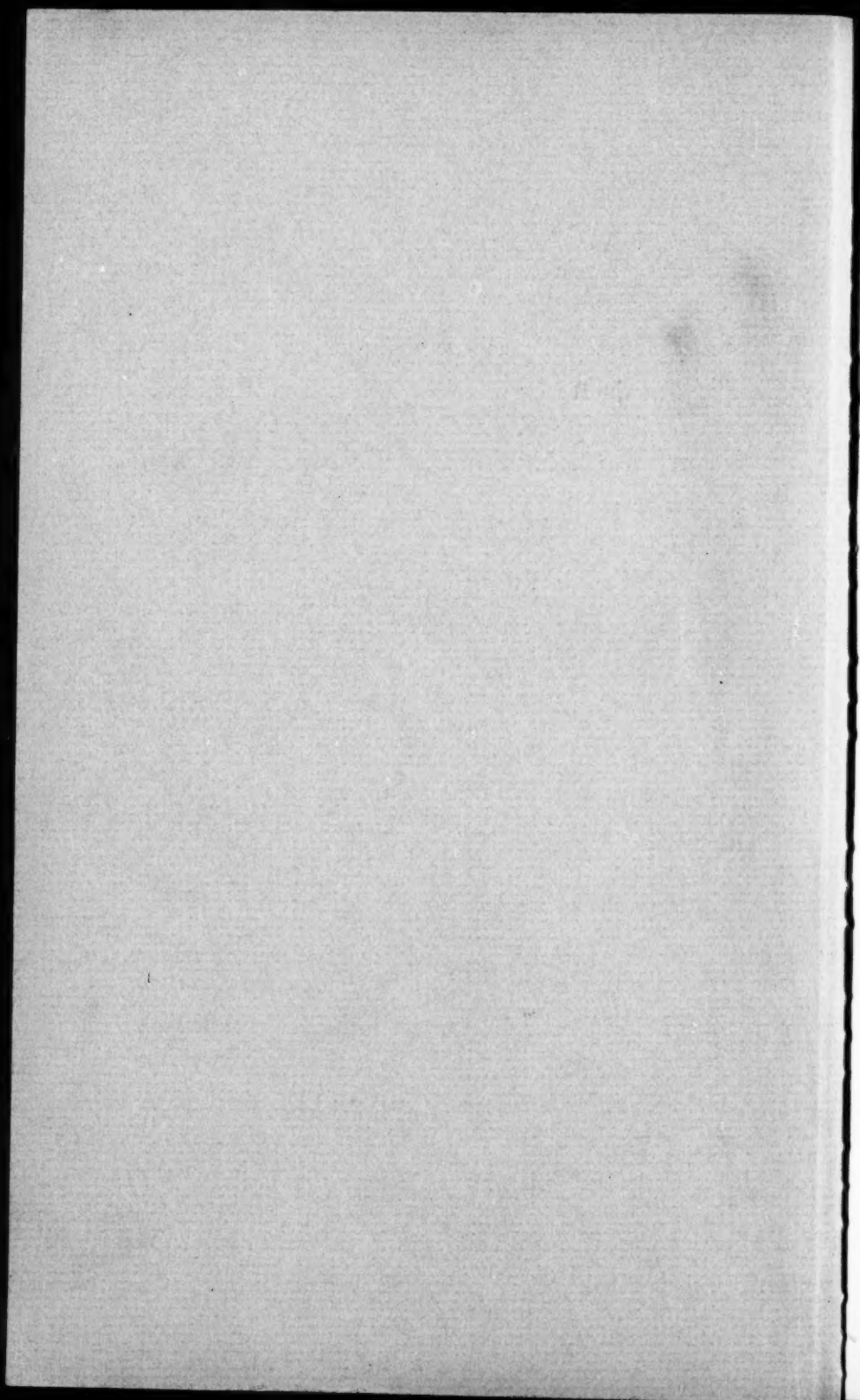
NOV 25 1944

PERIODICAL ROOM
GENERAL LIBRARY
UNIV. OF MICH.

THE
HUNTINGTON
LIBRARY
QUARTERLY

November, 1944

VOLUME VIII, NUMBER 1



THE
HUNTINGTON LIBRARY
QUARTERLY

November, 1944

VOLUME VIII, NUMBER 1

HUNTINGTON LIBRARY : SAN MARINO 15, CALIFORNIA

The Huntington Library Quarterly is published four times a year by
Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California

Subscription Price \$5.00 a Year; Single Numbers \$1.50

Entered as second-class matter October 6, 1937

at the post office at Pasadena, California

under the Act of March 3, 1879

Copyright, 1944

By the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery

Printed by Anderson & Ritchie : The Ward Ritchie Press

Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

Contents

	PAGE
Research at the Huntington Library:	
Seminars and Conferences	1
Readers and Their Projects.....	2
Seminar on Isolation, Name and Thing.....	7
James I and his Literary Assistants	
DAVID HARRIS WILLSON	35
The Maps in <i>Gulliver's Travels</i>	
FREDERICK BRACHER	59
James T. Fields and the Beginnings of Book Promotion, 1840-1855	
WILLIAM CHARVAT	75

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Yankee Preacher-Teacher in Florida, 1838	
NORMA B. CUTHBERT	95
An Unpublished War Letter of General William T. Sherman	
CAREY S. BLISS	105

FRIENDS OF THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

Financial Report	111
—	
List of Contributors	113

F
T

J
U
C
T
M
A
L
A
F

o
Y
M
ri

ro

g
fo

THE
HUNTINGTON LIBRARY
QUARTERLY

NUMBER 1

NOVEMBER, 1944

Research at the Huntington Library

Seminars and Conferences

FOUR seminars were held on Renaissance studies during the summer of 1943. On July 31, A. S. P. Woodhouse, of the University of Toronto, spoke on Milton studies. On August 7, Don Cameron Allen, Johns Hopkins University, described his work on Tudor and Stuart essayists. On August 14, Samuel C. Chew, Bryn Mawr College, discussed Tudor and Stuart iconography. On August 23 reports on research in progress were made by John Leon Lievsay, Stanford University (Diogenes in the Renaissance), A. C. Judson, University of Indiana (Edmund Spenser), and David Harris Willson, University of Minnesota (James VI and I).

In the field of English literature after 1660, a seminar was held on August 28, 1943, at which Miss Lucyle Hook, Scarsdale, New York, spoke about her research on the Restoration theater, and Miss Florence Brinkley, Goucher College, dealt with her Coleridge studies.

A seminar on "Isolation, Name and Thing," was held April 8, 1944. A report of this seminar is appended.

A regional conference on Southwest history was held on August 21, 1943, and summarized in the *Huntington Library Quarterly* for February, 1944. On August 22, 1944, a conference on the

Pacific Southwest attracted over fifty members: a report will appear in a future issue of the *Quarterly*.

Readers and their Projects

The following list excludes permanent and temporary members of the Research Staff, a report of their activities being supplied in the Library's *Annual Report* for 1943-44. Readers who spent approximately two weeks working at the Library between the dates July 1, 1943, to June 30, 1944, are included.

HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

- Don Cameron Allen, Johns Hopkins University: sixteenth- and seventeenth-century personal prose
- Dorothy F. Atkinson, Mills College: edition of the *Mirror of Knighthood*; its influence in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature; edition of Jean Cartigny's *The Wandering Knight*
- Alice D. Ball, University of California at Los Angeles: sources of the play of *Lochrine*
- Roy W. Battenhouse, Vanderbilt University: religious and philosophical background of Elizabethan drama
- Theodore S. Colton, University of California at Los Angeles: Shakespeare and the consolations of philosophy
- Hardin Craig, University of North Carolina: history of English literature during the Renaissance
- Francis R. Johnson, Stanford University; Guggenheim Fellow: history of Elizabethan scientific thought
- Alexander C. Judson, Indiana University: life of Edmund Spenser
- Paul H. Kocher, University of Washington: Christopher Marlowe's thought and learning
- John Leon Lievsay, Stanford University: critical study of the influence of Stefano Guazzo in England, 1575-1650
- Pauline Kramer Sand, Columbia University: critical appreciation of the works of Sir John Davies
- Margaret Joy Tibbets, Traveling Fellow, Bryn Mawr College: Cromwellian politics

Asa C. Tilton, Pasadena: study of Bodin's *Six Books of a Commonwealth*

Linda Van Norden, College of Puget Sound; University of California at Los Angeles: life of Henry Spelman

David Harris Willson, University of Minnesota; Guggenheim Fellow: biography of James VI and I

A. S. P. Woodhouse, University of Toronto; Guggenheim Fellow: study of Milton's poetry

Janet Wright, San Marino: the herbal writings of William Turner, sixteenth-century divine, physician, and botanist

ENGLISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE AFTER 1660

R. Florence Brinkley, Goucher College: Coleridge criticism of the seventeenth century; Milton's grammar book

Gertrude C. Bussey, Goucher College: the influence of French Platonism in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Hardin Craig, Jr., California Institute of Technology: English and American naval history

Lucyle Hook, New York University: lives of Mrs. Elizabeth Barry and Mrs. Anne Bracegirdle, and their importance in the transitional period of the Restoration drama, 1660-1715

Florence Hilbish, Westmont College: Jane West, nineteenth-century English novelist

Edward N. Hooker, University of California at Los Angeles: history of English theory and criticism

Helene Maxwell Hooker, Los Angeles: Dryden's *Virgil*

Annette Hopkins, Goucher College: comparison between the serial and book publications of Mrs. Gaskell's novels

Alfred Kazin, Rockefeller Fellow: literary criticism of William Blake and Theodore Dreiser

Samuel C. McCulloch, University of California at Los Angeles: life and times of Dr. Thomas Bray

Grace M. Magee, Los Angeles: English biography, 1640-1700

William Thomas Morgan, Indiana University: English elections, 1700-1727

- Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College: seventeenth-century parliamentary history
 Miriam K. Starkman, Columbia University: Jonathan Swift's *Battle of the Books*

AMERICAN HISTORY AND LITERATURE

- Susanna Bryant Dakin, Pasadena: life of William Hartnell, California pioneer
 James Kimmis Greer, Howard College: post-Civil War migrations to the greater Southwest
 Jessie M. Greer, Birmingham, Alabama: life of Captain John C. Hays
 Lyman Curtis Guise, formerly of American College, Madura, India: Great Plains history
 Mark M. Horton, Stanford University: individualism and personal liberty among the New England fathers, 1620-91
 Philip M. Marsh, University of California at Los Angeles: prose of Philip Freneau; American publishing, 1780-1800
 William Matthews, University of California at Los Angeles: history of American diaries
 Mary Ellen Morris, Claremont Colleges: history of Pomona
 Mrs. George Pinkley, American Museum of Natural History: Royall Tyler and early American drama
 Thais M. Plaisted, Los Angeles: Frederick Jackson Turner
 Gertrude Ruhnka, Los Angeles: the dissenting folkstream: prelude to the study of upland culture in the South and West.
 W. Sherman Savage, Lincoln University: the negro in the Western movement
 Jack Stewart Schell, Black-Foxe Military Academy: life of Ira Aldridge, the nineteenth-century American Negro actor
 Randall Stewart, Brown University: love letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne

MEDIEVAL HISTORY AND LITERATURE

- Elizabeth Malone, Newcomb College: pre-Elizabethan drama
 Fred H. Rathert, College of the City of New York: problems in-

volved in the extant Germanic and Italian versions of *Vitas Patrum* of the fifteenth century

UNCLASSIFIED

Roland D. Hussey, University of California at Los Angeles: bibliography of South American history

Raymond E. Lindgren, Occidental College: edition of Sir Henry R. Bishop's Journal from London to Paris, 1814

Clarence King Moore, University of Rochester: world epics

Max Sander, Pasadena: book illustration, 1800-1890

C
and
in
sug
con
is
for
pre

Go

mu
my
"is
the
of
an

"is
of
En
ho
pr
sel
Re
Di

ca
"V
no
th
th
tic
"V

Seminar on Isolation, Name and Thing

ON APRIL 8, 1944, a seminar on "Isolation, Name and Thing" was held at the Huntington Library. The attendance was large and the discussion animated. These proofs of the general interest in the subject under discussion were doubtlessly responsible for suggestions that an account be printed. A *verbatim* report was not compiled at the time but notes were taken on which the following is based. No attempt has been made to give impromptu remarks formal shape or to supplement arguments left incomplete through pressure of time.

Godfrey Davies, Research Staff, Huntington Library:

The subject for today's seminar is so large that even a survey must be selective. As will soon be apparent I am going to confine myself mainly to the years from 1898 to 1900 when the word "isolation" first became common, but to touch on the history of the word, on some English analogies, the teaching of the Fathers of the Republic, and relevant parts of the Messages that established and extended the Monroe Doctrine.

In order to learn when the words "isolation," "isolationism," and "isolationist" were first introduced into the political vocabulary of Americans I naturally turned to the *Dictionary of American English*, issued by the University of Chicago. The words were, however, conspicuous by their absence from these learned tomes, presumably because "the end of the nineteenth century has been selected as a fitting point to terminate the admission of new words." Recovering from this surprise, I had recourse to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which attributed the first use of "isolation" in a political sense to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech of February 5, 1896: "Whether splendidly isolated or dangerously isolated, I will not now debate; but for my part, I think splendidly isolated, because this isolation of England comes from her superiority." To show that the phrase was immediately adopted in England, the same dictionary cites a speech delivered on February 26 by Lord Goschen: "We have stood alone in that which is called isolation—our splen-

did isolation, as one of our colonial friends was good enough to call it."

The two dictionaries are both at fault. The *Oxford English Dictionary* erred in attributing the first use of the phrase "splendidly isolated" to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. On January 21, 1896, Joseph Chamberlain declared: "Three weeks ago, in the words of Mr. Foster, the Leader of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 'the great mother-empire stood splendidly isolated.'"¹ Chamberlain was not quite correct, for Foster actually said on January 16: "The great mother Empire stands splendidly isolated in Europe."²

Much more important is the failure of the *Dictionary of American English* to note that isolation was a term applied in the early 1850's to the attitude of those Americans who opposed intervention on behalf of European liberalism, then sorely oppressed by the reaction which followed the revolutionary movements that had broken out on the Continent in 1848. Credit for discovery of this fact belongs to Dr. Albert K. Weinberg, of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.³

Also noteworthy is the fact that "splendidly isolated" and "splendid isolation" are mere adaptations of the word "isolation" which was already current in England. The policy apparently antedated the term by half a century, as a short digression will demonstrate. Castlereagh, in his opposition to the Holy Alliance and its zeal to suppress liberalism and nationality in Europe, had described his policy as "nonintervention." The Whigs, Palmerston and Russell, had during the years from 1830 to 1864 given such a twist to Castlereagh's doctrine as to justify Talleyrand's familiar jest—that nonintervention was a political and philosophical term which meant much the same as intervention. But after Bismarck's emergence as the leader first of Prussia and then of Germany, Britain held herself steadily aloof from Europe. Her one positive

¹*Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches*, ed. Charles W. Boyd (1914), I, 361-62.

²*Official report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada*, XLI (1896), 176. On the same occasion another speaker used the phrase, "dangerously isolated" (*ibid.*, p. 190).

³*The American Political Science Review*, XXXIV, No. 3 (June, 1940).

line of policy was the defense of Belgium—the Near Eastern question she regarded as an Asiatic rather than a European problem. This aloofness was identical with isolation and was occasionally referred to as such. Thus on April 11, 1888, Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, informed an audience: "There is all the difference in the world between good natured, good humoured effort to keep well with your neighbours, and that spirit of haughty and sullen isolation which has been dignified by the name of 'non-intervention.' We are part of the community of Europe and we must do our duty as such."⁴ The meaning of the term did not change in the next ten years. A speech Joseph Chamberlain delivered at Birmingham on May 13, 1898, proves this: "If the policy of isolation, which has hitherto been the policy of this country, is to be maintained in the future, then the fate of the Chinese Empire may be, probably will be, hereafter decided without reference to our wishes and in defiance of our interests." He then proceeded to advocate an alliance with Germany.

In England, therefore, isolation implied no alliances with a continental nation or nations. It was certainly not a synonym for anti-imperialism or anti-expansionism. The distinction was recognized when a separate label was devised for opponents of imperialism—Little Englanders. During the thirty years when England had interfered least in Europe her colonial empire had grown by leaps and bounds. In fact, what was called the "new imperialism" was roughly synchronous with isolation as practiced during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. The disappearance of the terms nonintervention and isolationism after the formation of the *entente cordiale* with France in 1904 also supports the above interpretation.

The excuse for this digression into the political vocabulary of England is the possibility of its helping to define, by analogy, the meaning of a term which originates with and seems now to be the exclusive possession of American politicians and publicists. Does isolation mean, or did it originally mean, the avoidance of interference by the United States in European affairs, and, specifically,

⁴Lady Gwendolen Cecil, *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*, IV (1932), 90.

reluctance or refusal to form an alliance with a European power or powers? Is it true, in America as in England, that it has no necessary connection with anti-imperialism or anti-expansionism? Was the difference recognized when the short-lived term, "Little Americans," was introduced into the language as the equivalent of Little Englanders? Is it also true that in the United States as in England the thing long preceded the name?

When dealing with an historical problem the safest approach is chronological. To start with the Founders of the Republic and to ascertain their views on the thing "isolation"—they did not use the word—is the correct plan. There is an additional reason for its adoption. The Americans who used the term during and after the Spanish-American War constantly refer to "the principles of the fathers of the republic."⁵ The immense importance attached to traditional policy by both parties to the controversy over annexations during the years 1898 to 1900 renders a brief discussion of it essential.

The natural starting point for any survey of the traditional foreign policy of the United States is Washington's Farewell Address, September 17, 1796:

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. . . . Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course.⁶

The actual phraseology the first President used requires careful study. In the first place, he does not proscribe political connections with foreign powers altogether. He cannot have forgotten the alliances concluded during the Revolutionary War. He cannot

⁵Charles Francis Adams, in a debate about expansion before the Massachusetts Reform Club which is reported in the *Argonaut*, Jan. 9, 1899.

⁶James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I, 222.

have been blind to the fact that commercial relations often involve political relations. He had firsthand knowledge of the difficulties confronting American commerce from the maritime codes of European belligerents. He was not ignorant that the ban on American trade to the British West Indies—not removed until Jackson's presidency—had already been the subject of negotiations only partly successful. The context shows that Washington was warning his fellow countrymen against taking sides in the war being waged by Britain and other powers against revolutionary France, for causes "essentially foreign to our concerns." The danger was immediate, not remote. The Jeffersonian Republicans in 1794 had tried to discriminate against British commerce and had opposed Jay's Treaty,⁷ and Anglophobia still ran high. To avoid implication in the "ordinary vicissitudes" of the politics of Europe or "the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities" does not bar all intervention, but makes it exceptional, not normal. The last sentence quoted explains why the United States could stand aloof from most foreign entanglements.

In his First Inaugural Address Jefferson proclaimed his oft-quoted ideal for foreign policy: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."⁸ In his Third Annual Message he reiterated Washington's sentiments: "We should be most unwise, indeed, were we to cast away the singular blessings of the position in which nature has placed us, the opportunity she has endowed us with of pursuing, at a distance from foreign contentions, the paths of industry, peace, and happiness."⁹

Now Jefferson, as is well known, was often, though not in-

⁷In a letter to James Monroe of Sept. 6, 1795, Jefferson wrote of Jay's Treaty: "Those who understand the particular articles of it, condemn these articles. Those who do not understand them minutely, condemn it generally as wearing a hostile face to France. This last is the most numerous class, comprehending the whole body of the people."

⁸Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. P. L. Ford, VIII, 4. Dr. L. B. Wright in *Huntington Library Quarterly* VI, 178, calls "entangling alliances" "a conventional phrase with politicians of the day." I have not found an earlier example of this precise phrase, though "entanglement" is used nearly a quarter of a century before. See Dr. Weinberg's article cited above.

⁹Op. cit., VIII, 273.

variably, a pronounced Anglophobe, but he was too great a man to sacrifice the interests of his country to his own antipathies. Twice he contemplated an alliance with England, once as President and once as elder statesman. In 1805, when the alliance of Spain with France threatened complications over the Louisiana Purchase, he wrote to Madison: "I think therefore we should take into consideration whether we ought not immediately to propose to England an eventual treaty of alliance, to come into force whenever (within _____ years) a war shall take place with Spain or France."¹⁰ Other letters prove this to be a serious proposal, not an offhand suggestion. True, as soon as the Third Coalition against Napoleon was formed, Jefferson withdrew his proposal, realizing that the Emperor would have his hands too full to bother over Louisiana. Yet his obvious relief at the turn of events strengthens the argument that he did not interpret "entangling alliances with none" to mean no alliance with any foreign country under any circumstances. If further proof be needed, it is forthcoming in the reply he sent to Monroe in 1823 when consulted about Canning's offer of co-operation in South America. Again he advocated an alliance with England for the specific purpose of safeguarding the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies. In case any member of my audience is so unfortunate as not to be a regular reader of the *Huntington Library Quarterly*, I refer him or her to the full discussion supplied by Dr. Louis Wright's article on "The Founding Fathers and Splendid Isolation." I may add that so far as I am qualified to express an opinion it is that Jefferson was prepared to sanction an alliance for a definite national interest but not one for contingencies too remote to be foreseen. If I am right, there is a curious similarity between his views and those of Castlereagh.

President Monroe and his Secretary of State, Adams, decided to proceed alone, and the famous message to Congress of December 2, 1823, was the result. As Professor Dexter Perkins remarked, "the Monroe Doctrine was but the logical counterpart to the maxim of no entangling alliances, and to abstinence from participation in the politics of Europe." The same authority also states that "non-interference in European affairs, the warning not to meddle unduly

¹⁰Aug. 4, 1805. *Ibid.*, VIII, 374. Jefferson left the number of years blank.

in the affairs of America," were the "two grand divisions of the principle of the two spheres."¹¹ He also shows that for twenty years the Doctrine was not given a very rigid interpretation. No protest was made against the British annexation of the Falkland Islands, or against the extension of British Honduras. Webster's motion in Congress in 1824 on behalf of Greek independence proved that nonintervention in European politics was not universally accepted. That the Doctrine should be emphatically reaffirmed in 1845 in an era of robust nationalism and of fervent belief in manifest destiny is no accident. President Polk was an ardent follower of Andrew Jackson and a thoroughgoing expansionist. Naturally enough, therefore, he began that message to Congress which ranks second in importance only to Monroe's with a reference to "the rapid extension of our settlements over our territories heretofore unoccupied, the addition of new States to our Confederacy, [and] the expansion of free principles." He then declared that as the United States had never interfered by intrigues, diplomacy, or force with the relations between other governments or been parties to their wars and alliances, so they claimed a like exemption from European interference on the American continent.

Once again the exact wording of these two Messages needs scrutiny. Neither forbids diplomatic representation either by the United States in European nations or by European nations in the countries of the two Americas. But, although the United States would not intervene in, say, the relations of England and France, nothing in either message prohibits or warns against co-operation with England or France, or both, outside Europe. Indeed, that very thing sometimes happened.

In point of fact the United States occasionally collaborated with European powers in the orient. In his book *Americans in Eastern Asia*, Professor Tyler Dennett heads Part IV, which deals with the decade starting in 1857, "The Cooperative Policy." William B. Reed, the first American minister plenipotentiary to China, was instructed to communicate freely with his British and French colleagues and to maintain the same friendly relations with the Russian envoy. Although the different powers made separate, if similar,

¹¹*The Monroe Doctrine, 1826-1867* (1933), p. 3.

treaties with China in 1858, their unity of purpose was demonstrated at Tientsin. The British and French representatives sailed up the river in a British vessel flying both flags, and the Russian and American arrived together in a Russian boat which flew the flags of the two nations. As befitted the representatives of powers who were allies in fact though not in name, they resided together. A more dramatic demonstration of unity of purpose was afforded when the Chinese obstructed the American, British, and French ministers who wished to proceed to Peking in accordance with the respective treaties. A British naval group which tried to force a passage got into difficulties, whereupon the American Commodore, exclaiming "Blood is thicker than water," successfully joined in the fray at the mouth of the river Pei-ho.

In discussing the convention signed at Yeddo (Tokyo) on June 25, 1866, Professor Dennett comments: "It, and the preceding convention of 1864, which had been signed by Pruyin jointly with the British, French and Dutch representatives, are among the very few, if not the only instances in the nineteenth century in which the United States entered into a joint treaty." The latter convention was extorted from the Japanese by a combined fleet, in which the United States was represented by a converted merchantman. Another example of co-operation occurred in 1889 when the American government agreed with Britain and Germany to establish a condominium over Samoa.

The controversy over the annexation of the Phillipines and Hawaii brought the word "isolation" into fairly common use. Of course, the adjective "isolated" had often been used to describe the geographical position of the United States. A recent example is supplied by the Democrat Richard Olney, Cleveland's Secretary of State, in his twenty-inch-gun note on the Venezuela boundary. "The United States is practically sovereign on this continent," he wrote, "because, in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation, and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers." It is fitting that the exponent of this flamboyant nationalism should give the earliest discussion I have found of "isolation" as a theory of foreign policy. On March 2, 1898, he

delivered an address at Harvard entitled "International Isolation of the United States."¹² He begins: Although the United States is entitled to rank among the great Powers of the world,

it purposely takes its stand outside the European family circle to which it belongs, and neither accepts the responsibilities of its place nor secures its advantages. . . . This rule of policy is not infrequently associated with another which is known as the Monroe Doctrine. . . . In reality the rule of isolation originated and was applied for many years before the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed. . . . The vital feature of the Monroe Doctrine is that no European Power shall forcibly control the political fortunes of its people [on the American continent]. Assuredly America can have no difficulty in governing its behavior toward Europe on the same lines.

He then discusses the early history of "this rule of policy," isolation, and demonstrates that Washington in his Farewell Address was warning his countrymen against meddling in European politics. Olney then states that the conditions for which Washington made this rule no longer exist. The logical result, therefore, is that the rule should now be considered as nonexistent also. He further claimed that "it is as open to America as to Europe to colonize, and if the United States were to do so, it would not be implicating ourselves in the ordinary vicissitudes of European policy." He goes on to state that political isolation denotes self-confidence and indifference to the opinion or friendship of other nations, and that it has been "intensified by a somewhat prevalent theory that we are a sort of chosen people." His conclusion is that the United States will shake off the spell of the Washington legend and cease to be a kind of international recluse. Then "it will not follow that formal alliances with other nations for permanent or even temporary purposes will soon or often be found expedient. On the other hand, with which of them we shall as a rule cooperate cannot be doubtful." He concludes by stating that from the point of material interests and of world peace, Great Britain and her Empire were the natural friends of the United States.

Olney returned to the same topic in March, 1900. "What the policy [of isolation] enjoined in substance was aloofness from the

¹²Reprinted in *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1898.

political affairs of the civilized world in general and a strict limitation of the political activities of the United States to the concerns of the American continents."¹³ In the same article he stated: "While the Spanish war of 1898 is synchronous with the abandonment of its isolation policy by the United States, it was not the cause of such abandonment and at the most only hastened it by an inconsiderable period."¹⁴ The real causes were resentment by the American people, conscious of their strength, at a policy which disabled the nation from asserting itself beyond the bounds of the American continents, and realization that their commerce could no longer be limited to the home market. He then argued that "the relinquishment by the United States of its isolation policy" meant "the substitution of international fellowship—the change from passive and perfunctory membership of the society of civilized states to real and active membership." He continued that this evolution need not necessarily have forced the United States to become a colonizing Power on an immense scale, to labor under what he calls "the huge incubus of the Philippines." He felt that morally and strategically, they weakened rather than strengthened the United States in the Far East and involved her in "all the rivalries, jealousies, embarrassments, and perils attaching to every Power now struggling for commercial and political supremacy in the East." Nevertheless, he rejoices at the abandonment of isolation and expects the American citizen henceforth to enjoy "such enlarged and moral vision as is ascribed to the Roman citizen in the memorable saying that, being a man, nothing human was foreign to him."

Two points may need emphasis—that Olney regarded isolation as barring participation in world affairs, and that annexing the Philippines might frustrate such participation. In other words, a colonial empire might entail the continuation of isolation. It would be interesting to know whether Olney had in mind the fact that absorption in the "new imperialism" had made Britain more isolationist than at any time in modern history.

Now let us consider the views of a Republican, for a generation

¹³"Growth of our Foreign Policy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXV (March, 1900).

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 290.

the most influential member of the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee, Henry Cabot Lodge. Everybody knows that he was an ardent expansionist, the friend of Theodore Roosevelt and A. T. Mahan. In 1898 he published serially in *Scribner's Magazine* his "Story of the Revolution" and at the end he sums up the position at the time of writing:

The inevitable has happened, and the Spanish war has awakened the people of the United States to the fact that they have risen to be a world power. . . . The questions of the acquisition here and there of territory upon which markets rest are details. The great fact is the abandonment of isolation, and this can neither be escaped nor denied. There is no inconsistency here with the past. It is the logical result of our development as a nation. Our foreign policy has always been wise and simple. Washington laid down the proposition that we should not meddle in the affairs of Europe, and, with France in his mind, warned us against entangling alliances. Monroe added the corollary that Europe should not be permitted to make any new acquisitions of territory in the Americas. To both doctrines we have held firmly, and that of Monroe we have extended and enforced, and shall always enforce it, now more than ever before. But neither Washington nor Monroe sought to limit us either in our own hemisphere or in parts of the world other than Europe. They were wise men with wise policies, but they could not read our unknown future nor deal with problems far beyond their ken. They marked the line so far as they could foresee the course then, and were too sagacious to lay down rules and limitations about the unknowable, such as the doubting and timid of a later generation would fain attribute to them. Isolation in the United States has been a habit, not a policy. It has been bred by circumstances and by them justified. When the circumstances change, the habit perforce changes too, and new policies are born to suit new conditions. . . . A great self-governing nation and a world power; such has come to be the result and the meaning of the Revolution of 1776 to Americans and to mankind.

I should like to add two other quotations, again selecting them so as to include a Republican and a Democrat. In October 1900 John Hay said in an address: "We can no longer cling to the isolated position among the nations that we formerly rejoiced in."¹⁵ In the *Atlantic Monthly* for December 1902 Woodrow Wilson

¹⁵Tyler Dennett, *John Hay*, p. 319.

wrote: "We have come to full maturity with this new century of our national existence and to full self-consciousness as a nation. And the day of our isolation is past."¹⁶

All four politicians agree that isolation has become a thing of the past, and the first two, Olney and Lodge, the only two to discuss the matter at any length, agree that there was no necessary connection between the end of isolation and the beginning of overseas colonization. Both Olney and Lodge share the conviction that the United States should not meddle in "the ordinary vicissitudes of European policy." This was precisely the British doctrine of nonintervention as practiced during the forty years from the seizure of Schleswig-Holstein by the German Confederation in 1864 to the beginning of the agreement with France in 1904, provided that allowance be made for the proximity of England to the Continent and for her treaty obligations to Belgium. Moreover, as we have seen, the first English advocate for the abandonment of isolation, Chamberlain, had in mind the situation in the Far East—the danger to the integrity of China and the policy of the Open Door.

Now American writers agree that the acquisition of the Philippines was the outward and visible sign that the United States had abandoned isolation. In the words of President Butler, of Butler College, Dewey's guns at Manila were "God's own trumpet-tones summoning his people out of their isolation into the broad arena of the world's great life."¹⁷ The reason is not that the United States was suddenly forming a colonial empire, but that the Philippines were only six hundred miles away from China. The consequences were demonstrated at the time. Senator Chilton makes this point very forcibly:

When we go over into the Philippines we have thrown ourselves upon the red-hot stove of international politics in the Eastern Hemisphere. . . . When we go to the Philippine Islands, we take our place on the Sea of China. France is there, England is there, Russia is there, Germany

¹⁶*Selected Literary and Political Papers and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson*, I, 168.

¹⁷*Christian-Evangelist*, XXXV, 13 (July 7, 1898), quoted in Julius W. Pratt's *Expansionists of 1898*, p. 307.

is there. Trouble will be certain to ensue, and it will not be long in coming. In my judgment twenty years will not elapse until we will be driven into hostile conflict with one or all the great European nations.¹⁸

Andrew Carnegie summed up the isolationist standpoint very well in a sentence: "The Far East is a mine of dynamite, always liable to explode."¹⁹

But, you may ask, was isolation altogether dissimilar to anti-imperialism? The answer would seem to be that anti-imperialists united with isolationists in opposing the annexation of the Philippines but for different reasons. The sentiments of the anti-imperialists are summed up in a resolution moved by Senator Vest of Missouri on December 6, 1898:

The colonial system of European nations cannot be established under our present Constitution, but all territory acquired by the Government, except such small amount as may be necessary for coaling stations, correction of boundaries, and similar governmental purposes, must be acquired and governed with the purpose of ultimately organizing such territory into States suitable for admission into the Union.

Upon this declaration, said Senator Orville H. Platt, the anti-imperialists took their stand.²⁰

Now on what did the isolationists take their stand? Let us take as a specimen the views of Senator Spooner of Wisconsin. He decided reluctantly that the treaty with Spain ought to pass but that the future of the Philippines—the permanent policy to be pursued—should be left to the people of the United States whose discretion ought not to be limited by any resolutions of the Senate. But his decision to vote for the treaty is not now in question. Rather, we need to know why he was reluctant—in other words, why he was an isolationist, or, to be precise, how we know he was an isolationist as well as a (reluctant) expansionist. I might add that he swallowed Puerto Rico and Cuba without making a wry face. Let us examine his speech on February 2, 1899, in the

¹⁸ *Cong. Record*, Senate, Feb. 4, 1899, XXXII, 1448.

¹⁹ "Americanism versus Imperialism," in the *North American Review*, Jan. 1899, p. 2.

²⁰ L. A. Coolidge, *An Old Fashioned Senator, Orville H. Platt* (1910), p. 295.

files of the *Congressional Record* (55th Cong. XXXII, 1386):

We are a world power. We have grown to be the richest nation under the sky . . . We are isolated. Other nations envy us for that. There is a tendency in this day to sneer at it and to treat it as a disadvantage. Our isolation . . . is one factor which has aided us in devoting our energies to the development of our resources only just begun; that has obliterated the frontier and made prosperous Commonwealths from ocean to ocean. . . . On that glorious May morning in the far-distant Pacific, Dewey and the men behind his guns sent around the world to all governments and all peoples the never-to-be-forgotten message, 'the United States is a world power.' . . . We have had no participation in the struggles of the Old World nations over the balance of power. . . . It may not be sentimental or romantic, but it is true we have grown rich by staying at home and attending to our own business. I have not been able to find persuasive the suggestion that we can benefit the United States by a policy which will make us in any larger sense than we are a political factor among the governments of the world—I mean in world matters—and I look with apprehension upon a policy which may place the United States in a position where by force of environment or neighborhood we can be made a compulsory participant in the struggles of the Old World nations over the balance of power in the Orient.

Here I will only call your attention to the fact that, whereas Chamberlain wanted Britain to abandon isolation because of a Far Eastern question, Senator Spooner wanted the United States to preserve isolation to avoid entanglement in the orient.

Thus there were two distinct elements in the opposition to annexations, the one being the alleged abandonment of American ideals of self-government, and the other being isolation. Both were involved in the Philippines, but only one in Hawaii or Samoa. This point is well illustrated by a passage in the *Diplomatic Memoirs* of John W. Foster, a former secretary of state. He did not believe in the extension of American territory beyond the then ocean limits. But he welcomed the opportunity of acquiring Hawaii because it was an outpost of the Pacific frontier and would protect our commerce on that coast. In other words, he was a moderate imperialist and isolationist.

To turn to another question, What did men like Lodge mean when they said that isolation was dead? Certainly they did not

mean that henceforth the United States would take a hand in the European balance of power. A striking illustration was afforded at the First Hague Conference. By Article 27 of the Convention of the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes the signatory states were to consider it a duty to remind any powers engaged in a dispute that the Permanent Court set up by the Convention was open to them, and this reminder was to be regarded as a friendly act. At this Captain Mahan, an American delegate, took alarm and caused to be inserted in the article the following proviso:

Nothing in this Convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not entering upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or internal administration of any foreign State, nor shall anything contained in the said Convention be so construed as to require the relinquishment, by the United States of America, of its traditional attitude towards purely American questions.²¹

Now Mahan was an imperialist, having been converted, as he tells us, from being an anti-imperialist by his studies of naval history. I have never found the word "isolation" in his writings, but I believe I am correct in saying that he was no more an isolationist than Lodge or, perhaps, Roosevelt was about 1900.

What difference, then, did the alleged death of isolation make to American foreign policy, especially in the Far East? In March 1898 the British government inquired at Washington "whether they could count on the co-operation of the United States in opposing" foreign powers who "may restrict the opening of China to the commerce of all nations, either by procuring the lease of portions of the Chinese coast under conditions which would insure preferential treatment to the Power acquiring such lease, or by obtaining the actual cession of the Chinese littoral." This overture was bluntly repulsed. Up to the present time, McKinley replied, no foreign occupation was interfering with American trade or aiming at exclusive commercial privileges. There was, therefore, no reason to depart from "our traditional policy-respecting foreign alliances

²¹W. D. Puleston, *Mahan: The Life and Work of Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan* (1939), p. 212.

and so far as practical avoiding interference or connection with European complications."²²

The language is noteworthy. The President obviously regarded the situation in China as an extension to the orient of the political, commercial and colonial rivalries of European nations. Accordingly, he wished to avoid entanglement in these rivalries so long as American trade was not victimized. But when the peace treaty with Spain gave the United States the Philippines, McKinley's attitude changed. The new nationalism which had prompted the annexation of the islands also prompted a more active defense of American rights and interests in China. Hence the famous Open Door notes. By the first, issued in the autumn of 1899, England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia were individually invited to give assurances not only that they would afford equal opportunities for trade within their respective spheres, but also that each one would co-operate with the United States in urging all the others to give such assurances. During the Boxer Rebellion, another forward step was taken. On July 3, 1900, the same powers received a circular letter stating that the United States proposed to act with those powers "to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."²³

These notes effected little. Even England, who accepted the first²⁴ and concurred in the second, seems to have had little faith in the circular of July 3. She knew that a presidential election was near at hand and that active participation on her side would give the Democrats an appeal to German and Irish votes which the Republicans were not prepared to risk. That this suspicion was justified seems to be proved by Secretary Hay:

²²A. Whitney Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (1938), pp. 45-46.

²³Griswold, p. 80.

²⁴With a reservation about Hongkong which the United States accepted.

If it were not for our domestic politics, we could, and should, join with England, whose interests are identical with ours, and make our ideas prevail. But in the present morbid state of the public mind toward England that is not to be thought of—and we must look idly on, and see her making terms with Germany instead of with us.²⁵

Since this was the case, Hay had to step aside and see his oriental policy neglected. When a treaty with Germany proved a delusion, England formed the alliance with Japan which afforded a temporary solution only of the problem of the orient.

Isolation, therefore, was not dead. Indeed, it was becoming infused with a racial antipathy, an anti-English prejudice. Its basis was originally as sound as that of nonintervention. No one is likely to quarrel with Washington's view that the United States should not meddle with the purely domestic affairs of another nation. Castlereagh was in accord with this policy. But to his warning against interfering in the domestic upsets of other nations, he added a vital qualification—unless the security of surrounding countries is threatened. Isolationists—and appeasers—have failed to perceive that a spark ignited locally might become a general conflagration unless checked at the start. They have been blind to the truths that in a world closely knit together by technology peace is one and indivisible, and that once the predatory appetite of a people is roused, it increases by what it feeds upon. As a final thought, I would suggest that the safest way to avoid the perils of isolation would be to remove foreign policy from the political arena and thus follow the British example.

J. E. Wallace Sterling, Professor of Modern History, California Institute of Technology:

In Britain there was the same reluctance as in the United States to accept the full responsibility implied by Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Even in the 1920's, when there was comparative "security" and hope for more, successive British governments regarded the comprehensive guarantees of

²⁵Tyler Dennett, *John Hay*, p. 319.

the Covenant as impracticable. They refused, for instance, to underwrite various French schemes for security. Ramsay MacDonald's government in 1924 refused to sign the Treaty of Mutual Assistance which had been drafted by the League in 1923, and the Conservatives rejected the Geneva protocol of 1924, mainly because these agreements would have increased Britain's responsibility. In the next year, however, the British Government accepted the limited guarantees of the Locarno pact, although they refused to support the French program for an Eastern Locarno as well. The parallel between continuing isolation in the United States and the continuing British reluctance to intervene extensively on the Continent is, I think, a point of enlargement of what was pointed out in the chairman's opening remarks.

Homer D. Crotty:

You suggested that it might be well to have both parties agree on a single foreign policy and mentioned that that had happened in England. Could we imitate her?

Mr. Davies:

The United States cannot achieve this result in the same way as England, because they have not the advantage of a Queen Victoria. In 1886 she told Gladstone she would not tolerate an anti-imperialist secretary. She wanted Rosebery, acceptable to Conservatives and Liberals. He was appointed and established continuity of foreign policy which was continued under his successors. Of course the agreement about England's external relations is not perfect. The essential thing is that no attempt should be made to snatch party advantage from it. England has found it advantageous to consult the "outs" when the important issues are raised. An example occurred in July, 1914. Then the opposition leaders were kept fully informed. I would reply to the question, "What do you suggest for the United States?" that the President should avoid the grave errors that Wilson made. In particular he should not confine the American representatives at the Peace Conference to one party, and should not appeal

at the forthcoming election for a majority of Democrats on a war issue. I do not see why a beginning can not be made on the principles of the peace now, or why the leaders of the two major parties should not consult together.

Brainerd Dyer, Associate Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles:

Do you think Wilson consulted the Republicans?

Mr. Davies:

Very few and those not the most influential.

Edwin F. Gay, Research Staff, Huntington Library:

In a recent book dealing with the negotiations it is shown that there was a fair chance of agreement between House and Lodge, but President Wilson was inaccessible.* There was a time when, if only Wilson would have talked with Lodge, he might have secured the Republicans' support for a slightly modified League.

Mr. Dyer:

Henry White was one of Lodge's trusted friends and in constant correspondence with him, and the Republican point of view was not ignored. There is only one other Republican I would have chosen, and that would have been Elihu Root.

Mr. Sterling:

I do not think Wilson availed himself of Mr. White's knowledge. He thought that by conjuring up words and phrases he could dispel the problem.

Dixon Wecter, Professor of English, University of California, Los Angeles; affiliated member, Research Staff, Huntington Library:

I think White was described as "an innocuous Republican" and was not popularly identified with the party. Root and Taft were

*Stephen Bonsal, *Unfinished Business* (1944), pp. 272-80, 285-86.

Republican leaders who antedated Wilson as advocates of a world federation. At the outset of the war, Wilson was an isolationist and something of a pacifist who mastered his scruples against war only by converting the struggle into a declared war to end wars. Perhaps the question of the League's approval or rejection might be considered at two levels: the attitude of statesmen and that of the general public. In the first category, Henry Cabot Lodge represented the traditional federalist view, darkened by suspicions as old as the Revolution against England and the wiles of European diplomacy, and New England's desire to maintain barriers like tariff walls. If concessions were made in the political field many such provincial notions would probably crumble. Among the people at large isolation stemmed from suspicion of outlanders, aggravated by the hatreds of recent war and the ancient fear of mixing in "foreign quarrels." Many groups, losing the powerful fusion of war, scattered and divided, forsaking any interest in Europe. The issue of the League, however, was never submitted to the people as a clear-cut referendum. In so far as they rejected international responsibility, much of the blame must rest on faulty education in the issues of World War I. Before other wars, the background of the struggle had been discussed for years—that of the Revolution in New England town meetings and the Virginia House of Burgesses, that of the Civil War in the debates of Calhoun and Webster, Lincoln and Douglas. But on the eve of the last war we passed almost overnight from an attitude which declared itself too proud to fight to the invocation of force to the utmost. The only bridge was the narrow one of preparedness and the average man, smitten by atrocity stories and exhilarated by Wilson's rhetoric and moral idealism, never clearly understood that our own self-preservation was bound up in the struggle. With the war over, this emotional ardor cooled quickly. Many felt cheated since we did not gain any material benefits from the war. With our faulty preparation we failed the final examination. Today we may hope that, since Pearl Harbor, our idealism and our self interest have met and fused. At least our training for this war has been longer, and one ventures to hope in this struggle that the disillusion came before rather than after the shooting.

Robert G. Cleland, Research Staff, Huntington Library:

In your study of isolation have you concluded that a typical isolationist does not want intervention in Europe but may want it in Asia?

Mr. Davies:

Oh, yes, I think so.

William B. Munro, Professor of History and Government, California Institute of Technology; Vice-Chairman of Board of Trustees, Huntington Library:

Our attitude toward isolation has seemed to vary with geography: one, to avoid all entanglement with Europe; two, to intervene in South America on almost every possible occasion; and three, alternations of isolation and intervention in the Far East.

As to Lodge, Mr. Gay and I are, I think, the only ones here who knew him. Twenty years ago I was asked to write a biographical sketch of Senator Lodge for the *Dictionary of American Biography* and found it very hard to be objective. During the war a group of men, mainly Republicans, including Wilson's own predecessor, Mr. Taft, organized the League to Enforce Peace. The program of this League was not unlike that adopted at Versailles. In the early autumn of 1918, in spite of the strong support which these Republicans had given his world program, Wilson called for the election of a Democratic Congress. His advice was not taken and the Republicans made large gains. Yet in spite of this plain warning Wilson took over to the Peace Conference a group of associates in which there was no regular Republican and no representative from the Senate. The four who accompanied him were dependent on his leadership alone. The American delegation, it is true, took along with it some of the best-informed men in the country, but these experts had little influence upon the President.

The President's final mistake occurred after the Covenant went to the Senate. In a conversation with Senator Lodge at that time I asked him, "Is the Senate going to ratify?" "Yes," he said, "the

best we can hope to get is a few essential reservations." Later, taking advantage of a series of ineptitudes on the part of the administration, he apparently decided that there could be more reservations. I am inclined to think that the case of Wilson *vs.* Lodge was no conflict of fundamental principles but in the main a personal quarrel. Both were academicians and mentally indurated, but Lodge was the more astute politician and delighted in finding ways to embarrass the President. He saw his chance in Wilson's final blunder—his insistence that the Senate approve the Covenant without dotting an *i*, or crossing a *t*. Approval would have had a chance if Wilson had offered to accept reasonable reservations, in which case the United States would have gone into the League of Nations. But I am not sure that we would have stayed in, and it might have been worse to go in and withdraw than not to have entered the League at all.

Mr. Dyer:

I agree with Dr. Munro, and I do not want to seem a defender of Wilson. Taking the make-up of the delegation, I have tried to recast it, putting in other people, and have not had much success, except possibly by adding Elihu Root. The members of the Senate have been very critical of presidents who have put senators on peace conference committees. McKinley appointed some. The Senate practically passed a resolution to condemn his action, told him verbally, and got a promise that he would not do it again. In 1812 Clay resigned to go, and served. Tradition seems to have been that no member of Congress should serve on such committees.

Louis B. Wright, Research Staff, Huntington Library:

I feel that the observations and public actions of politicians are not always indicative of the general feeling of the people. Frequently, the public action has not reflected the actual sentiment of the people as a whole. One must go beyond the votes and debates in Congress. A plebiscite would often tell a very different story. For instance, the acquisition of Alaska is a case in point.

There was great popular feeling against it. Only by shrewdness and sharp practice was Seward able to win the approval of Congress. He enlisted the help of Senator Sumner in the effort. By playing up anti-British feeling Sumner managed to persuade the Senate to ratify the bill. He pointed out that the British might want Alaska and that we could not afford to let them have it. The public was opposed to the annexation and generally believed that it was a violation of our national interests to extend our borders that far. Cartoons ridiculed "President Johnson's Polar Bear Garden" and "Seward's Icebox."

In our relations with Pacific areas, the public usually lagged behind a few public figures who could visualize what action should be taken. Perhaps the best-known example is Commodore Matthew C. Perry's recommendations to the Navy Department. We could not rouse any general interest in the Pacific until the public realized in 1898 that the Germans wanted to develop an empire in that ocean. Some of our actions that later proved wise were only accidental. It is sometimes said that we have never been isolationists when it came to Pacific expansion, but the truth is that we did not want any political responsibility, even in the Pacific. What the public wanted to do commercially and what it wanted to do politically were two different matters.

A distinction between American attitudes toward China and toward other strategic areas in the Pacific should be made. The importance of missionaries returning from China and the sentimental interest in China should not be underestimated. Not until this war, however, has the public had much interest in oceanic territory or strategic protection in the Pacific.

To comprehend American isolationism, one ought to take a large account of the feelings of the people as well as those reflected in Senate debates. The whole study of isolationism would seem to require a broad base of understanding of popular beliefs, of the country newspaper as well as the Congressional Record.

Mr. Dyer:

I should like to stress the over-simplification of the teachings

of the Founding Fathers and the misreading of their utterances. Washington's Farewell Address is often quoted because of its advice to avoid political relations with foreign nations as far as possible, but there is another paragraph which is very seldom printed. Toward the close of the address he turned to the question of what motive had led him to give this advice and stated that it was because we were a young nation, struggling to get ourselves established. At a later time, he said, we shall be able to choose for ourselves what part we shall play. It was a temporary policy he was advising. Moreover, he did not oppose alliances as long as they were temporary ones; his objection was to permanent alliances.

In Monroe's message he was careful to state that we would not participate in the ordinary affairs of Europe, but when actions go beyond the borders of Europe then we are concerned. There is a close parallel between the situation then and, say, in 1939 and 1940. I think Monroe would not have talked against our participation in Europe in 1939. Isolationists cannot get very much comfort from the Founding Fathers if they read the addresses carefully.

Mr. Sterling:

The problem of public opinion occupied the State Department during the decade 1931-41. Compare the language used by Secretary of State Hull and President Roosevelt in their conversations with Japan and Germany and their subsequent talks on the radio. They discuss the same problem and give the same warnings to the people of our country, but the language is much different. They baby the public along so they will accept what has been said to German and Japanese diplomats.

Another illustration occurs in British history. The British public after 1919 believed in the effectiveness of collective security though they may not have understood it. Yet no leader of a British party acted as if he was convinced of it, though he dared not say, "We do not believe in the efficacy of Article 10." The result was that after 1931 or 1933 these two things came into con-

fict. The British people expected their leaders to do one thing but the leaders believed it was not practical. Important as public opinion is, unless it can be translated into action it is powerless.

Mr. Wright:

Public opinion is slow to catch up with political action. The public damned Seward first and then later after gold was discovered in Alaska they showed him in cartoons with a halo around his head. It is a good thing for the public to be faced with a *fait accompli*. It is difficult to formulate a consistent foreign policy and stick to it.

Mr. Sterling:

As an example of this, in 1919-20 a plebiscite would have supported endorsement of the League of Nations, yet the political action went contrary to this.

Mr. Gay:

I think that is very doubtful. If we could have acted immediately, it might have been carried. Apparently, few returning soldiers were intelligent enough to see that wars should be prevented by something like a league. Most of them wanted to get through the war and that was all. Some of them came into my office at the New York *Evening Post* to express their strong opposition to our attitude in defense of the League. It was clear before the end of the debate in the Senate that Lodge recognized the gradual change in public opinion. He may have started largely out of political animosity to the President; he was ready to accept the Covenant if reservations were carried through; the President with great difficulty had managed to prevail upon the Europeans to accept Lodge's reservations. If he had explained on his first return from Paris how difficult it was to insert more reservations, it would have helped. Yet public support was gradually ebbing away.

C. H. Collins Baker, Research Staff, Huntington Library:

May I ask if you hope for the future more co-operation between the two parties in this country? How would the formation of a

national government in time of crisis along lines of the English be? Would it be possible here, and if so, would it help?

Mr. Munro:

We have a kind of national government now. We *may* have more Republicans in the cabinet, and it will not make so much difference. The whole structure of our government is so different from that in England. The control of the government is now in Democratic hands. The minority has had a very definite influence in England.

Willard O. Waters:

I wonder whether or not it would be desirable to have a majority and not a two-thirds vote to ratify a treaty.

Mr. Davies:

A number of secretaries of state have expressed themselves very freely against the tyranny of the minority.

Mr. Munro:

Personally I am in favor of an amendment providing that treaties be ratified by a majority vote in both houses, rather than by a two-thirds vote in the Senate alone. Treaties sometimes provide for the payment of money (as in the case of the treaty by which the United States acquired Alaska). But the Senate cannot, of itself, vote money to implement a treaty. The House, if it chose, could stand on its constitutional prerogative and refuse to provide the funds. The issue may well arise in connection with the proposed treaty with Mexico for the allocation of water from the Colorado River. Certain members of the House of Representatives have already argued that the alienation of national property requires action by Congress as a whole and not by the Senate alone. In any event it should be borne in mind that if a majority in both houses of Congress can be had in favor of a treaty there is always a possibility of circumventing the two-thirds requirement in the

Senate by utilizing the joint-resolution procedure. It was by this procedure that Hawaii became a part of the United States. An extension of this method might obviate the need for any constitutional amendment.

A
Sc
Sc
ro
wh
"T
to
di
"T
ing
hi
tic
H
wh
I
as
Ja
re
D
di
sc
th

Me
cia
:
ati
M
of
wa
Se
PP
art

James I and His Literary Assistants¹

By DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

A WELL-KNOWN trait of James I was his fondness for learned conversation, especially at the dinner table. As a boy in Scotland he was accustomed to the reading and discussion of the Scriptures during his meals; and later in England he loved to gather round him at table his favorite divines and a few selected laymen whose learning and dispositions were such as he could appreciate. "It was the custom of King James," wrote Francis Osborne, ". . . to discourse during meals with the chaplain that said grace or other divines concerning some point of controversy in philosophy." "That King's table was a trial of wits," wrote Hacket. "The reading of some books before him was very frequent while he was at his repast. Otherwise he collected knowledge by variety of questions which he carved out to the capacity of [those about him]. . . . He was ever in chase after some disputable doubts which he would wind and turn about with the most stabbing objections that ever I heard. And was as pleasant and fellow-like in all those discourses as with his huntsmen in the field."² On these occasions, to be sure, James sat enjoying his dinner while those who attended him stood reverently behind his chair without having dined themselves. Doubtless he often paraded his knowledge, as in the famous audience he gave to Sir John Harington. His interest was not in scholarship or in the general field of letters but in a kind of theological lore which justified the position of the Anglican Church

¹This article was made possible by a grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation to which the author wishes to express his sincere appreciation.

²Francis Osborne, *A Miscellany of Sundry Essayes, Paradoxes, and Problematicall Discourses* (London, 1659), pp. 3-4. John Hacket, *Scrimia Reserata: a Memorial . . . John Williams* (London, 1693), I, 38. "I have stood by his table often, when I was about the age of two and twenty years, and from thenceforward, and have heard learned pieces read before him at his dinners." *Ibid.*, I, 227. See also Isaac Walton, *Life of John Donne* ("World's Classics," London, 1927), pp. 44-45.

Quotations have been modernized in spelling and punctuation throughout the article.

and in which he argued by marshaling citations from the Scriptures and from theologians of all ages in support of his views. And there was a notable correlation between his conclusions and the advancement of his own material interests. Yet here at least was something more creditable to James than the ribald foolery of Archie Armstrong or of Sir George Goring.

But James was ever ready to turn all things to his own advantage; and these learned repasts and conversations have an intimate connection with much of his literary activity. They provided an audience to which he could expound his views. They supplied the flattering encouragement and sympathy which he required, for he had to be familiar and intimate with those about him whether they were the keepers of his dogs or of his dioceses. These conversations did much more. They gave him the assistance of new ideas and approaches, of apt illustrations and pertinent material of all kinds. They showed him where to turn for further aid. He selected those who pleased him to help him with his writing, to collect material and run down references, to ease the drudgery of manual composition, to criticize and polish his work. Such assistance could easily be rewarded and need not be acknowledged publicly. I find but two references in all of James's writings where assistance is acknowledged in any way: in the first he thanks Buckingham for acting as amanuensis, in the second he perpetrates a ridiculous fraud, for he had no part in writing the piece. In a word, James picked the brains of his divines and appropriated the labor of others with the same untroubled ease with which he announced himself as the source of all the blessings enjoyed by the fortunate inhabitants of his three kingdoms. Finally, as a result of these gatherings, a good many people were set to work writing books of their own which supplemented or defended the writings of the King.

James's early training along these lines was bad. He began to write and publish, as he began to rule, at such an early age that he could not hope to master the difficulties before him without assistance. His earliest ventures were in the realm of verse; and he is said to have composed his first poems at the age of fifteen.³ By

³David Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Soc., Edinburgh, 1843), III, 784.

that time he had escaped from the harsh tyranny of his early tutors and was enjoying the genial company of a group of versifiers who occupied minor positions at the Scottish court and with whom he lived on terms of easy good-fellowship. Alexander Montgomerie, Thomas and Robert Hudson, William Fowler, and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth belonged to this group, of which Montgomerie was easily the most distinguished. He was James's "maistre poëte," "the prince of poets in our land," "beloved Sanders maistre of our art."⁴ He appears as a somewhat rakish individual, frequently in trouble of one kind or another, overly fond of drink, temperamental, but jovial and spirited and with much keenness of wit. He could turn with surprising ease from verse of an obscene and rollicking character, such as the *Flyting with Polwart*, to poetry of a highly religious nature. James had a taste for both, though in his own verse he showed a preference for sacred themes. Others might sing of earthly loves and hates, but the young King of Scots aspired to a heavenly muse.⁵

James's early poetry owes much to Montgomerie. A modern student of the subject remarks that "the King's reliance on the master poet is everywhere traceable in both his precepts and his practice." The same writer points out the great similarity between James's essay, *Reulis and Cautelis to be Observit and Eschewit in Scottis Poesie*, which he included in his first volume of verse, and George Gascoigne's *Notes of Instruction*. "The King and his guide in the art simply appropriated from the English treatise, after the fashion of border reivers, making adroit and somewhat disingenuous changes in order and phrasing, and adding or omitting as their tastes and the peculiarities of Scottish prosody suggested."⁶ James, of course, was still a boy, as his verse makes clear, and the age was one of great carelessness and dishonesty in such matters. Yet he was learning to take what he needed without acknowledgment. Another feature of this early period is interesting. James set

⁴Quoted from James's poems. *New Poems by James I of England*, ed. A. F. Westcott (New York, 1911), pp. 31, 37, 40.

⁵See Lily B. Campbell, "The Christian Muse," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 8, pp. 38-54.

⁶*New Poems by James I*, pp. xxx, xlvi. James remarks in his preface that sundry have written on this subject, but he does not specify whom.

a number of his little court of jovial poetasters at literary labors which he deemed appropriate for their talents. He suggested to Thomas Hudson that he translate Du Bartas' *Judith*. "It pleased your Majesty," wrote Hudson, "(among the rest of Du Bartas' works), to assign me *The Historie of Judith*, as an agreeable subject to your Highness to be turned by me into English verse."⁷

Before he left Scotland James wrote two of his best-known works, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598) and the *Basilikon Doron* (1599). The first was his answer to the theories of politics held by the Scottish Presbyterians, and the second, intended as a guide for his son, was his idealized picture of what a king should be. In preparing the *Basilikon Doron* he had the assistance of Sir James Sempill, a writer of some learning and dialectic skill whom James had known from boyhood. We read of "Sir James Sempill, one of his Majesty's servants, whose hand was used in transcribing that treatise." Sempill imprudently showed his copy to certain ministers of the Kirk, with highly explosive results.⁸

James's accession to the English throne increased both his opportunities to use the learned men of his court and his need for their assistance. He found that the English upper clergy combined much learning and ability with a fawning deference to the sovereign that made them ideal collaborators; and at the same time he became involved in his famous pamphlet war with the leading defenders of the Roman Catholic Church. After the Gunpowder Plot James had imposed a new oath of allegiance. Roman Catholics ready to support the government, it was thought, would take the oath while disloyal ones would refuse it, and thus the sheep could be separated from the goats. James claimed that the oath was a civil affair of the

⁷Dedication to James in *The Historie of Judith in forme of a Poem: Penned in French by the noble poet, G. Salust, Lord of Bartas: Englished by Tho. Hudson* (Edinburgh, 1584). Hudson also says that the work was "corrected by your Majesty's own hand."

⁸John Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1850), III, 80. The first edition of the *Basilikon Doron* in 1599 consisted of but seven copies. Early in 1603, before James became king of England, he published a revised and enlarged edition which added many marginal references to classical authors in support of the text. The differences between these editions are listed in the edition published by the Roxburghe Club (1887). The story of this revision might be instructive; but the sources are silent.

allegiance of his subjects to their prince. But the Roman Catholic Church saw only a device to force denial of the fundamental doctrine of papal supremacy and to create heresy and schism. To take the oath, wrote Cardinal Bellarmine, was not so much to swear allegiance to the King as to abjure allegiance to the Vicar of Christ. From this quarrel grew a great battle of print which penetrated every corner of Europe and produced scores of books and pamphlets on both sides. It covered the whole ground of the relations of the pope with temporal sovereigns. But it centered upon the pretensions of the papacy in dealing with heretical princes: the power to depose them, to free their subjects from allegiance, to foster rebellion, invasion, even assassination as sanctions against rulers who had left the fold.⁹

Such questions stirred James to fury. He was always the passionate advocate of the cause of monarchy; and as the disputant eager to cross swords with distinguished opponents and as the Defender of the Faith who took that title seriously, James felt impelled to engage in the quarrel. He told Somerset that "the state of religion through all Christendom, . . . almost wholly, under God, rests now upon my shoulders." He drew the bishops after him, and they in turn urged him to battle. "The King," wrote Casaubon with more than a touch of regret, ". . . is now so entirely taken up with one sort of book that he keeps his own mind and the minds of all about him occupied exclusively on the one topic. Hardly a day passes on which some new pamphlet is not brought him, mostly written by Jesuits, on the martyrdom of Saint Garnett, the sufferings of the English Catholics, or matters of that description. All these things I have to read and give my opinion upon." "Neither his private affairs nor public business interest his Majesty so deeply as do affairs of religion."¹⁰ In this quarrel James did strange and

⁹See the excellent Introduction in *The Political Works of James I*, ed. C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge, 1918).

¹⁰James to Somerset, 1615, *Letters of the Kings of England*, ed. J. O. Halliwell (London, 1846), II, 129-30. Mark Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon* (Oxford, 1892), pp. 286-87. "The King as a most learned prince embarks right willingly on this subject and shows a kind of rivalry with the Cardinal [Bellarmine], who has here the reputation of being the most learned champion on the papal side." *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1607-1610*, p. 178.

ridiculous things. But who will deny that he was fighting in a good cause? The Roman Catholic world was aggressive and dangerous, and its arguments needed to be answered. Had James been a tenth as bold in deeds as he was in words, the Palatinate need never have been lost.

Three major works of James are connected with this controversy; for brevity we may call them the *Apology*, the *Premonition* or *Monitory Preface*, and *A Remonstrance for the Right of Kings*.¹¹

As soon as Paul V denounced the English oath and Cardinal Bellarmine attacked it, James decided to reply, and the result was his *Apology*. His story of how the *Apology* was written is found in the preface to his collected works edited by Bishop Montagu. According to this tale James planned to sketch brief notes of a reply but to assign the task of answering, on the basis of these notes, to Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester. Once embarked upon his notes of instruction, however, James became so absorbed that he continued writing until he had finished a book of a hundred and twelve printed pages. "I know not how it came to pass," explained Montagu,

but it fell out true that the poet saith,

*Amphora coepit
Institui, currente rota, post urceus exit.*

For the King's pen ran so fast that in the compass of six days his Majesty had accomplished that which he now calleth his *Apology*; which when my lord of Canterbury that then was [Bancroft], and my lord of Ely [Andrewes] had perused, being indeed delivered by his Majesty but as brief notes, and in the nature of a minute to be explicated by the Bishop in a larger volume; yet they thought it so sufficient an answer both to the Pope and Cardinal, as there needed no other; whereupon his Majesty was persuaded to give way to the coming of it forth.

¹¹The full titles are: (1) *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus. Or An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* (1608); (2) *A Premonition to All Most Mightie Monarches, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendome* (1609); (3) *Declaration du sérénissime Roy Jacques Ier, Roy de la Grand' Bretagne et Irlande, défenseur de la Foy, pour le droit des Rois et indépendance de leurs couronnes, contre la barangue de l'illustrissime Cardinal du Perron, prononcée en le Chambre des Trois-Estats, . . .* (1615). This was englished under the title, *A Remonstrance for the Right of Kings, and the Independance of their Crownes*.

And Montagu calls upon the reader to judge whether or not a divine hand had guided that of his Majesty.¹²

This story as it stands is incredible. The *Apology* might possibly have been composed in six days, but the preparation of material could not have been done in that time. The *Apology* appeared about the middle of February, 1608; and it is important to note, first, that the Roman Catholic attacks which the *Apology* answered probably came to James's hands late in the autumn of 1607, and, secondly, that both the French and Venetian ambassadors reported that during December James was leading a most secluded life in the country, appearing only for meals, and spending his time with his books. Both ambassadors, repeating the gossip of the court, asserted that James was preparing an answer to a book by the Jesuit Robert Parsons in which he and Salisbury had been a little maltreated. In this the ambassadors seem to be wrong, but the rest of their story may be believed. Boderie, the French ambassador, wrote that James "was neither seen nor helped during this solitude except by the master of the chapel [James Montagu] and by a minister whom he called specially from the city to furnish him with memory and material." The Venetian ambassador tells the same story. James, he says, was living in almost complete retirement in the company of one man, a dean, very learned.¹³ At this time Montagu was master of Sidney Sussex College, dean of Worcester, and master of the chapel to James. He was a logical person for James to summon to his aid. Hacket records that during James's visits in the country at Royston and Newmarket Montagu read to him the four tomes of Cardinal Bellarmine's controversies, and that James, while enjoying the fresh country air, "weighed the objections and answers of that subtle author and sent often to the libraries in Cambridge for books to examine his quotations."¹⁴ It is not perhaps a coincidence that shortly after the appearance

¹²*The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince, James*, ed. James Montagu (London, 1616), Preface, D2^v. Montagu's Latin quotation is amusing, for its implication casts some doubt upon James's finished product.

¹³Boderie to Puisieux, December 22, 1607/January 1, 1608, *Ambassades de M. de la Boderie en Angleterre . . . depuis les années 1606 jusqu'en 1611* (Paris, 1750), III, 5. *Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1607-1610*, p. 74.

¹⁴Hacket, *Williams*, I, 227.

of the *Apology* Montagu became bishop of Bath and Wells, just as in the year in which he edited James's collected works he became bishop of Winchester. The true story of the *Apology* seems to be that James shut himself up for some time, perhaps a month, with Montagu and another divine, whose identity is obscure, and that together they produced the *Apology*. The extent of the aid given James is impossible to gauge, but there is good reason to believe that it was substantial.

Boderie refers a number of times during this period to the story that James was working on a reply to Parsons, and the King may perhaps have had something of the sort in mind. Boderie wrote in February, 1608, that James, having completed the *Apology*, was about to answer Parsons in even longer breath. "As for the book of Robert Parsons," Boderie wrote a month later, "to which I told you that the King was still replying, I believe that he will refrain; at least I know that his two principal councillors, the earls of Northampton and Salisbury, have begged him to do so. They would have wished that he had not printed the other or at least not acknowledged it as his own." Obviously the note of triumph at the English court as each new broadside was fired at the papacy was not shared by those who had to conduct relations with foreign states. James might boast that he had given Bellarmine a sound thrashing and Montagu might declare that while the King's adversaries were secure from bleeding by his Majesty's sword, they could not escape the blasting breath of his Majesty's books. Salisbury's point of view was very different, and we find Sir Thomas Lake complaining bitterly in 1609 that the churchmen would persuade the King to take up his pen contrary to his intention.¹⁵

Having issued five editions of the *Apology*, two English, two Latin, and one French, James awaited the result on tiptoe.¹⁶ He

¹⁵Boderie to Villeroi, February 4/14, March 2/12, Boderie to Puisieux, February 17/27, 1608, *Boderie*, III, 103-104, 163-64, 123. Montagu, Preface to *Workes of . . . James I.* Lake to Salisbury, December 11, 1609, *Cal. S. P. Domestic, 1603-1610*, p. 570. Had James and the bishops snatched the Pope from his throne, wrote Boderie of a later publication, there could not have been more triumph at court. Boderie to Puisieux, May 24/June 3, 1609, *Boderie*, IV, 344.

¹⁶"This prince writes constantly and from what I learn is making provision of material in order to reply to the responses he expects to be made to his book. . . .

was not kept waiting long. He was attacked at once by both Bellarmine and Parsons with a wealth of learning, a keenness of argument, and a volley of biting personalities that shocked him into the utmost irritation and anger. He was like a man who, expecting perhaps a scratch while pruning his roses, is suddenly stung by a scorpion. James was, in fact, a very thin-skinned person, infinitely sensitive to what was said of him, as Boderie observed; and he "was deeply affected."¹⁷ His first act was to ruin his Scottish secretary in the vain hope of shielding himself.¹⁸ He prohibited the sale of Bellarmine's book until his reply was ready, and to that he applied himself with great diligence, for he felt that a crisis had arisen which called for prompt and drastic action.

At once he summoned his bishops to his aid. He is preparing an answer, wrote the Venetian ambassador, and intends to retire to Royston in a few days along with his theologians.¹⁹ Thus began a series of consultations lasting some nine months as he and the bishops planned their campaign, divided their labors, criticized each other's work, recast, corrected, and polished the results. The reply to Bellarmine, from first to last, was a co-operative enterprise of James and the bishops; they were consulted at every

It is indeed true that the book will attract many replies; but that will only put the author in his element, for this is the science of which he knows the most and in which he most delights." Boderie to Puisieux, March 16/26, 1608, *Boderie*, III, 190.

¹⁷Bellarmino wrote under the name of his almoner, Matthaues Tortus, *Responsio ad Librum Inscriptum Triplici nodo, Triplex Cuneus . . .* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1608). Robert Parsons, *The Judgment of a Catholicke Englishman living in banishment for his religion . . . concernynge a late booke set forth, and entituled "Triplici Nodo triplex cuneus"* (St. Omer, 1608). For James's reaction see *Boderie*, IV, 17, 39-40, 64-65, 73-74, 324. An attack of gout did not improve his temper. *Ibid.*, IV, 219. *Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1607-1610*, pp. 178, 184.

¹⁸Bellarmino had made great use of a letter which had been sent to the Pope from Scotland in 1599. It was signed by James, requested that the bishop of Vaison, a Scot by birth, be made a cardinal, and contained phrases which an optimistic reader in Rome could interpret as a hint that James might change his faith. James now declared that he knew nothing whatsoever of this letter. His Scottish secretary, James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino, was induced under great pressure to confess that he had sent the letter without James's knowledge and that the royal signature had been obtained by fraud. For this he was condemned to death, though the sentence was not carried out. It is difficult to believe that his trial was more than a farce to extricate the King from an embarrassing position.

¹⁹*Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1607-1610*, pp. 178, 184.

turn and aided greatly in all parts of its preparation. James may have taken as a model the procedure used in translating the King James Version of the Bible, when the work was divided among groups of scholars, with elaborate arrangements for revision by each group of the work of others. And he doubtless felt that the two undertakings were of commensurate significance. Four books were planned and produced within a year. Lancelot Andrewes, bishop of Chichester, was commissioned to reply to Bellarmine; William Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, to answer Parsons; John Barclay, to prepare an edition of his father's book on the powers of the papacy. James's own part, the keystone of the arch, took a double form. He decided in the first place to reissue the *Apology*. This was done, his enemies claimed, in order to correct silently the many mistakes they had pointed out; but James declared he did nothing more than correct printers' errors,²⁰ and as far as I have discovered there were no significant changes in the reissued *Apology*. In the second place, James added a *Monitory Preface* or *Premonition*, longer and more elaborate than the *Apology* itself. It was, indeed, the most ambitious work James ever attempted. It was addressed to all the rulers of Christendom and pointed out the dangers to their crowns and persons arising from the exalted claims of the papacy to temporal power.

Before turning to James's book, let us glance at the other authors whom he set in motion. The most important was Lancelot Andrewes, a man close to the King and greatly admired by him. Andrewes today would be called an Anglo-Catholic, and through his studies of the Church Fathers he was eminently fitted to contest the historicity of papal claims. He had no great liking for the part he was called upon to play. "The bishop of Chichester," wrote Chamberlain, "is appointed to answer Bellarmine about the oath of allegiance, which task I doubt how he will undertake and perform, being so contrary to his disposition and course to meddle with controversies."²¹ Yet Andrewes had a large part in the pamphlet war. He published an answer to Bellarmine in 1609, *Tortura*

²⁰*Political Works of James I*, pp. lx, 152.

²¹Chamberlain to Carleton, October 21, 1608, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 264.

Torti Sive Ad Matthaei Torti Librum Responsio, the title being a play upon the name of Tortus under which Bellarmine had written. Bellarmine replied at once, and Andrewes in 1610 published his *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini*, which has been called the weightiest book on the King's side.²² Isaac Casaubon, who had just arrived in England, was asked to criticize this book, and most of his suggestions were accepted. Andrewes also published a third tract in 1610.²³ William Barlow, who answered Parsons, was dean of Chester at James's accession, became bishop of Rochester in 1605, and bishop of Lincoln in 1608. He is best known for his very Anglican account of the Hampton Court Conference. His reply to Parsons appeared in 1609, *Answer to a Catholike Englishman (so by him-self entituled)*. Parsons wrote an insultingly personal rejoinder which was not published until after his own death. The year 1609 also saw the publication of William Barclay's *De Potestate Papae*. The author was now dead, and the edition was prepared by his son, John Barclay, a young poet trying to make his way in the world, who helped James in several of his literary labors. The book was important to James because it was the work of a Roman Catholic. It argued that the Pope should drop all pretensions to temporal power, which did the Church great harm, and should confine himself to spiritual sanctions in dealing with heretical princes.

Meanwhile James was working hard on the *Premonition*.²⁴ There is ample evidence of the great assistance he received from others. In the margin of his manuscript copy we find, in his own hand, the phrase, "to remember to speak with Barclay."²⁵ Barclay, as we have seen, was now editing his father's book, and his aid to James could be great. But much greater assistance came from Andrewes. Late in November, 1608, the Venetian ambassador reported that James had completed his reply to Bellarmine and had handed it to the bishop of Chichester to refute certain authorities cited from

²²*Political Works of James I*, p. lxii.

²³*Determinatio Theologica de Iurejurando exequendo* (London, 1610).

²⁴"The King writes on this business from morning till night." Lake to Salisbury, December 3, 1608, *Cal. S. P. Domestic, 1603-1610*, p. 472.

²⁵*Lusus Regius, being Poems and Other Pieces by King James I*, ed. Robert S. Rait (Westminster, 1901), p. x.

the Fathers and Doctors.²⁶ Now a large portion of the *Premonition* was devoted to refuting Bellarmine's citations, not only those in his recent work but also in his earlier writings. Hence it is probable that Andrewes prepared and wrote large portions of the *Premonition*.²⁷ He had his difficulties. "There is a bishop," wrote Boderie, "a very fine man, said to be of a reasonable disposition, whom James has also had writing. But his work is a web of Penelope; for as soon as he has completed a portion and shown it to the King, so much is found that must be rewritten that the poor bishop has more difficulty in making corrections than he had in writing his composition in the first place. For this reason the book has been delayed." There was much revising and retouching by James and his little congregation of learned men, as Boderie called them. "They are now conferring on what they have done and give form to their work." In February, 1609, James was in the country but sent frequent couriers to London to the bishops and other doctors for passages of the Scripture and other information. A month later James "continued to work at his book in reply to Rome. Yesterday he had a long talk with some bishops with whom he had other business."²⁸ There was thus constant application to the clergy for assistance as the work progressed.

Yet the King had great difficulties with the final stages of the *Premonition*. It went to press early in 1609 but was held back in the printer's hands for many weeks while James corrected and revised. "This prince continues always to write; yet he labors in undoing that which he has written."²⁹ Even so, when the book first appeared about April 1, James was horrified to find that it contained many errors. Quotations from the Fathers were found in many places to be inaccurate. On April 7 a proclamation appeared declaring that due to the rashness of the printer and the errors of

²⁶*Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1607-1610, p. 193.*

²⁷James declared that he wrote the *Premonition* in seven days. Montagu, Preface to *Workes of . . . James I*. It ran to a hundred and thirty-five printed pages. If there is any truth at all in James's statement, it may mean that he wrote his portion in seven days, leaving much to Andrewes.

²⁸Boderie to Puisieux, November 2/12, 1608, March 4/14, 1609, *Boderie, IV, 73-74, 271. Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1607-1610, pp. 227, 243.*

²⁹Boderie to Puisieux, March 4/14, 1609, *Boderie, IV, 271.*

the examiner, the book was "uncorrected of some faults varying from the original copy which do not a little pervert the sense." Copies already abroad were declared adulterate, and persons possessing them were ordered to return them to the King's printer from whom in due course they would receive new copies corrected to the truth. But London was already full of the uncorrected copies. James was highly annoyed. "As soon as the book appeared," wrote Boderie, "many faults were discovered. The author, learning of these defects, became very angry . . . and thought indeed of having the printer punished. His anger is now moderated, however, and his only thought is to correct what he judges at fault and to augment rather than diminish the work. I do not anticipate anything less violent against the Pope." The Roman Catholic historian Lingard asserts that James recalled the book in order to tone down certain passages against the papacy, but Boderie does not bear this out. "Changes have been made," he wrote, "but the purpose has been rather to forestall rejoinders [that is, to escape hostile criticism] . . . than to diminish in the least the bitterness for which the book is censured by almost everyone."³⁰

James returned the book to the bishops for correction. "At present four bishops are at work on it," the Venetian ambassador wrote on April 26. "As the four bishops are working on the book," he reported a week later, "it should not be long ere it is reprinted," and then the court, delayed in London by the King's literary labors, could begin its annual progress into the country. But James was not to be moved till corrections were complete. "I hear," wrote Chamberlain, "he is so wholly possessed and over-careful about his book that till that be finished to his liking he can brook no other sport nor business."³¹

The book was being translated into Latin and French and this also caused delay, as James wished the editions to appear together as far as possible. For aid in these translations he called upon a

³⁰*Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1607-1610*, pp. 263-64, 270, 283. Boderie to Puisieux, April 26/May 6, May 4/14, 1609, *Boderie*, IV, 318-19, 323-24. John Lingard, *History of England* (Edinburgh, 1902), VII, 95-98.

³¹*Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1607-1610*, pp. 270, 273. Chamberlain to Carleton, April 26, 1609, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, I, 290-91.

number of persons. "They are working on it," wrote Boderie, "and there is a little congregation of learned men who assemble every day before the King to look over and correct the translations that have been made. Before long it will appear in four languages." Sir Dudley Carleton tells us of the Latin translators.³² Sir Henry Savile, he says, was appointed to correct the translation of the King's book into Latin, which was first done by Andrew Downes, then by Lionel Sharpe, by Thomas Wilson, and last by John Barclay. Of these men Savile was the learned though worldly warden of Merton College, and Downes was regius professor of Greek at Cambridge. Both had a part in the King James Version. Sharpe was an ambitious divine who had won the patronage of Northampton, become chaplain to Prince Henry, and preached fawning sermons before the King. He later fell into disgrace because of his part in Northampton's ugly intrigue to bring about the dissolution of parliament in 1614. Wilson was a minor official with literary tastes who was later the keeper of the state papers. The *Premonition* finally appeared in May.³³ There were London editions in English, Latin, and French; a Latin edition was published in Amsterdam and a Dutch translation at Leyden. I find no Italian edition, though the Venetian ambassador reported that James had ordered one.³⁴

There are many interesting features of the history of this book—

³²*Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1607-1610*, p. 277. Boderie to Puisieux, May 4/14, 1609, *Boderie*, IV, 323. Carleton to Chamberlain, April 27, 1609, *Cal. S. P. Domestic, 1603-1610*, p. 506. See also Carleton to Edmondes, April 6, 1609, Thomas Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, ed. Robert F. Williams (London, 1849), I, 96.

³³W. Johnson to [Walter Bagot], May 24, 1609, *Hist. MSS Comm., 4th Report*, App., p. 343.

³⁴"The King's book appeared a few days ago in Latin and in English. His Majesty has ordered it to be translated into French and Italian, but I hear he was not satisfied with the way it was done." *Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1607-1610*, p. 283. James's concern about translations may have arisen from his experience with his *Apology* in 1608. This was translated into Latin and published before James realized that the Latin was "a little gross." He prohibited its further sale and had a second translation made. Boderie to Puisieux, February 17/27, 1608, *Boderie*, III, 131.

Almost everything James wrote was translated into various languages, but this was not done by the King, though we find him making corrections. The *Premonition* had some distinguished translators, but most of this kind of work was done by very obscure people.

the dismay of the English court at its violent tone, the elaborate copies bound in velvet and stamped and cornered in gold for presentation to the princes of Europe, their very cool reception of the work, the ridiculous diplomacy in which James became involved. These we must leave. But mention should be made of the large number of authors who within the next few years defended the King's point of view. James had raised fundamental and far-reaching issues, and they were given tragic poignancy by the murder of Henry IV in 1610. James used his position to encourage and reward those who came to his assistance, and not infrequently they took up their pens at his personal suggestion. To those already mentioned many others might be added: John Buckeridge, bishop of Rochester, Samuel Collins, regius professor of divinity at Cambridge and provost of Kings College, Thomas Morton, bishop of Lichfield, George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, John Gordon, dean of Salisbury, William Tooker, dean of Lichfield, John Donne, David Owen, Richard Thomson, Robert Burhill, John Prideaux, and moderate or renegade Roman Catholics such as Thomas Preston—who used the pseudonym of Roger Widderington—Richard Sheldon, William Warmington, Christopher Musgrave, Marcus Antonius de Dominis, archbishop of Spalatro. James's dealings with this corpulent and avaricious prelate contain matter for high comedy; De Dominis left the Roman Church, embraced Anglicanism, and received many favors from the King, only to horrify his patron in the end by returning to his earlier faith.³⁵

James's third work connected with the Catholic controversy, *A Remonstrance for the Right of Kings*, published in 1615, was an answer to the arguments of the French Cardinal du Perron. The third estate in France in its meeting of 1614-1615 had proposed an oath, to be taken by all churchmen and officials, which was very similar to the English oath of allegiance and was obviously inspired by it. The French clergy, however, objected violently to its adoption and successfully opposed it. They selected Cardinal du Perron to set forth their views. His oration before the nobles and

³⁵Biographies of all these men are in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The work of many of them is described in McIlwain's Introduction to *Political Works of James I.*

the third estate was printed;³⁶ and James, seeing so open a challenge from such a distinguished source, decided to reply. He was here addressing the whole body of the French Catholic clergy, and he sought the assistance of the well-known French Protestant Pierre du Moulin who was brought to England for some three months in 1615.³⁷ Du Moulin was a man of learning and high spirit whose house in Paris was a center for French and foreign Protestants. He was a voluminous writer, though he became involved in so many controversies that much of his work is hurried and careless. He and James had already corresponded on a number of matters; and in 1610 he had written a defense of James against the attacks of the Dominican Nicolas Coeffeteau.³⁸ It is highly probable that James inspired this book, for Du Moulin later remarked that he was well rewarded for his labor. Moreover, the English translation was made from manuscript and appeared in 1610, while the original French text was not published until two years later.

What was Du Moulin's part in preparing the *Remonstrance*? In the Paris edition in 1615 he inserts an *advertissement* in which he states clearly that James wrote the work in French in his own hand and asked Du Moulin to polish the style. "The material and a part of the French style are his Majesty's." As if to allay suspicion Du Moulin repeats that James wrote the book, praises the King's candor in acknowledging minor assistance, and concludes with appropriate remarks about James's learning, piety, and wisdom. Du Moulin's autobiography, however, tells a different story and is worthy of exact quotation. "L'an 1615, au mois de février," he writes,

Monsieur de Mayerne, premier médecin de Jacques, roi de la Grande-Bretagne, arriva à Paris, et me fit entendre le désir que Sa Majesté avait de me voir. Déjà il m'avait envoyé deux mille livres, pour un livre que

³⁶For a discussion of Du Perron's oration, see *ibid.*, pp. lxvi-lxx.

³⁷See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under Du Moulin and also *Letters of John Chamberlain*, I, 591, 602.

³⁸Pierre du Moulin, *Défense de la foy Catholique contenue au livre du très puissant et sérénissime Jacques Ier . . . contre la response de F. N. Coeffeteau* (1612).

j'avais fait, en défense de la confession de foi que ledit roi avait publiée. Je me résolus de faire ce voyage. . . . Ce roi me fit beaucoup d'accueil; ordinairement je me tenais derrière sa chaise en ses repas. Deux mois auparavant, les Etats s'étaient tenus à Paris, où Monsieur le cardinal du Perron avait fait une harangue, laquelle il avait fait imprimer, en laquelle il prouvait que le pape peut déposer les rois, et où le roi Jacques était mal traité. Sa Majesté me commanda d'y faire réponse; ce que je fis; je lui présenté ma réponse, laquelle est imprimée sous son nom.

Du Moulin then lists, with obvious satisfaction, the net profits of his expedition: a D.D. at Cambridge, a chain of gold for his brother, a prebend at Canterbury worth £200 a year "avec une belle maison," a benefice in Wales worth an equal amount.³⁹ Such rewards would not be given for polishing French style. It seems clear that James, after giving Du Moulin instructions which were doubtless quite detailed, left him to do the writing and calmly appropriated the result; and when Du Moulin says that part of the French style was the King's, he must mean, if he means anything, that James corrected his style, not he the King's. The *Remonstrance* appeared in French (London and Paris, 1615), in Latin (London, 1616), and in English (Cambridge, 1616, 1619).⁴⁰ It was also included in James's collected works.

The Roman Catholic controversy presents a number of patterns of the ways in which James obtained assistance, and these patterns repeat themselves in his other works. He continued to give instructions to others and to leave to them the responsibility for finding the English or Latin for his thoughts. A good example of this is found in the story of Isaac Casaubon. While James was still living in Scotland he was impressed by the writings of this great French scholar and on one occasion invited him to visit Edinburgh. This invitation came to nothing at the time, but the death of Henry IV rendered Casaubon's position in France highly precarious, and the idea of visiting England began to take shape in his mind. When

³⁹"Autobiographie de Pierre du Moulin d'après le Manuscrit Autographe," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, VII (1858), 342-43.

⁴⁰The English editions describe themselves as "translated out of his Majesty's French copy by R.B., pastor of the church at Ashole in Norfolk." The rector at Asshill in 1603 was Richard Betts. A. Jessopp, "The Condition of the Archdeaconry of Norwich in 1603," *Norfolk Archaeology*, X (1888), 171.

he arrived James was delighted with him, and he remained in high favor. But if Casaubon hoped that his kind reception in England and the modest income provided by the King arose from James's love of learning and his desire to endow a famous scholar, he was speedily undeceived. Casaubon was to be used. He was a former Calvinist who, by his study of the primitive church, found himself reaching essentially the same points of view as those held by the English King and bishops; and he came to England an Anglican ready made. There was much for him to do. He was asked to read Roman Catholic tracts and give his opinion on them, he was asked to criticize the writings of the bishops, he was set writing himself. "All my old studies have entirely ceased," he laments. Thus James did not endow a great scholar but degraded him from the pursuit of knowledge to the writing of tracts in the constant bickerings of the pamphlet war. Of three works of Casaubon in England only one need detain us. This was a long open letter addressed to Cardinal du Perron in 1612.⁴¹ Several letters, moderate and polite in tone, were exchanged by Casaubon and Du Perron in 1611, though the exchange in reality was between the Cardinal and the English King. Du Perron spoke of James in flattering terms but declined to allow him his cherished title of "Catholic." James instructed Casaubon to reply in some detail, and it was this reply, one of the best expositions we have of James's ecclesiastical position, that was printed, first by Du Perron in Paris with the letter to which it was an answer, and then by Casaubon in England. The material was supplied by James. "The King," wrote Casaubon, "is making use of my services as secretary, but the piece is his Majesty's. . . . He had thought out this his response in a very exact way." Casaubon wrote it in Latin in a few days, but there was much revision by James and the bishops, especially by Andrewes; and Chamberlain speaks of it, though erroneously, as if Andrewes and Casaubon had collaborated.⁴² A preface to Casaubon's edition attacks a Roman

⁴¹*Is. Casauboni ad epistolam illustr. et reverendiss. Cardinalis Perronii responsio* (London, 1612). An English translation was printed in the same year.

⁴²Chamberlain to Carleton, January 29, 1612, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, I, 332. James kept the manuscript in his possession for several months before it went to the printer. Pattison, *Casaubon*, p. 480. It was during James's reign that Englishmen began to make a distinction between "Catholic" and "Roman Catholic."

Catholic author, Pelletier, who had written against the King; and here Casaubon allows himself to descend to violently abusive language. Pelletier is a barking dog, a wincing ass, an idiot who vomits malicious ignorance. Here too James is writing with the pen of Casaubon.⁴³

James again used someone about the court to set down his thoughts in the case of a tract which appeared shortly after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, *A Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of this late intended Treason, joined with the Examination of some of the Prisoners* (1605, 2 editions). Its purpose was to prove that James himself, with God's aid, discovered the plot and was thus the savior first of his own sacred person and secondly of the whole realm besides. It slurs over the first suspicions of Salisbury and Suffolk who are made to discount the evidence of a plot; but James "apprehended it deeplier," guessed the blow was to come by powder, and ordered the search under the parliament house. This tract was not written by the King. Its style is more graceful than his, and the unknown writer tells us in his preface he was an official in a position to know what was going on, "having better occasion, by means of my service and continual attendance in court, to know the truth thereof than others." James, however, adopted the tract as his own and placed it in his collected works without troubling to remove the preface that shows it was written by someone else.⁴⁴

The same curious method of composition may be seen in three other tracts. *A Publication of his Majesties Edict and severe Censure against Private Combats and Combatants* (1613-14) was issued as an appendage to a proclamation forbidding duels. It is almost certain that James wrote the proclamation; but the appended tract, a hundred and nineteen pages long, explaining the measures he was prepared to take in suppressing this evil custom, was not written by the King though it must have been drawn up under his

⁴³This paragraph is based upon Casaubon's writings and upon Pattison, *Casaubon*, section V.

⁴⁴Salisbury refers to it tactfully as the King's book. Salisbury to [Sir Edward Coke], March 28 [?], 1606, *Cal. S. P. Domestic, 1603-1610*, p. 306.

close and supervising scrutiny.⁴⁵ A tract of 1615, *God and the King*, is a dialogue in which Theodidactus and Philalethes vie with each other in proving that "our Sovereign Lord the King of England, being immediate under God in his dominions, doth rightfully claim whatsoever is required by the oath of allegiance." This was a textbook for the instruction of youth, and James commanded its use in all schools and universities and by all ministers of the church.⁴⁶ *The Peace-Maker, or Great Brittaines Blessing* (1618) was a reaffirmation of the King's resolve to retain the blessings of peace for England despite the beginning of the Thirty Years' War abroad. This manifesto of *Jacobus Pacificus* is thought to have been written by Andrewes with one passage by James himself.⁴⁷ The King did not claim these tracts as his own; but in each case there is good reason to believe they were his work though not his writing. Authorship of this kind shades imperceptibly into works written at James's suggestion but not under his control and finally into books prepared without his knowledge but in the hope of attracting his attention.

In one of his last writings James declares his purpose, if God gives him days and leisure, "to set down at large as in the descant the whole principal points belonging to the office of a king." And if he finds no leisure, of which he all but despairs, he intends to set some more nimble pen at work with his instructions.⁴⁸ This may be the sad reflection of an aging man, but it represents the practice of a lifetime.

More normal types of assistance may be seen in some of James's other works. Early in 1620 he published *A Meditation upon the 27, 28, 29 Verses of the XXVII Chapter of St. Matthew, Or a*

⁴⁵It was published anonymously though with the royal coat of arms on the first page. It is commonly ascribed to Henry Howard, earl of Northampton. James later stated that the "edict" came "from our own pen." I believe the word "edict" refers here to the proclamation and not to the appended tract. Robert Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations* (Oxford, 1910), I, 140.

⁴⁶Ascribed to Richard Mocket, elected warden of All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1614. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1613-1616*, pp. cvii-cix, 521-22, 530-38.

⁴⁷S. R. Gardiner, *History of England* (London, 1883-1884), III, 183.

⁴⁸Preface to *A Meditation upon the 27, 28, 29 Verses of the XXVII Chapter of St. Matthew, Or a Paterne for a King's Inauguration* (1620).

Paterne for a King's Inauguration. This strange affair, a product of premature senility, is addressed to Prince Charles, dwells upon the cares and burdens of kingship, and forms a counterpart, though an anticlimax, to the *Basilikon Doron*. James explains in the preface that "on a time telling Buckingham this my intention, . . . he humbly and earnestly desired me that he might have the honor to be my amanuensis in this work . . . because it would free me from the pain of writing by sparing the labor of mine eyes and hand. . . . And indeed my granting of this request to Buckingham hath much eased my labor, considering the slowness, illness, and uncorrectness of my hand." When the manuscript was complete James sent it to Andrewes for criticism. It was brought to London by Patrick Young, keeper of the King's libraries and son of his old tutor. "So soon as I came to town," wrote Young, "I delivered the book and his Majesty's letter unto my lord of Winchester [Andrewes], which was on Friday about four of the clock in the afternoon. Since that time my lord hath been ever busied about it, and laid all things else aside. Yesterday [Monday] after supper my lord did return it unto me sealed and his letter unto his Majesty within enclosed." These Young dispatched to Buckingham with all speed. But Young had a further mission. "I have sent unto you here enclosed a paper," he continued, "wherein you may see all these things you desired me to search out set down, save only that place of Suetonius, which as yet I have not fallen upon; but in Julius Capitolinus and Aelius Spartianus I find very pregnant places to that purpose. This paper, if you think fit and worthy of his Majesty's sight, you may show it to his Majesty." Young then asks what the title of the book is to be; for he assumes it will be sent back to him to see through the press.⁴⁹ In this small essay, for it is no more, James uses his favorite as secretary, his bishop as critic, and his librarian as research assistant and proofreader.

A variation is supplied by James's tract against Conradus Vorstius.⁵⁰ Vorstius was a follower of the Dutch Arminius both in his

⁴⁹Patrick Young to John Packer, Buckingham's secretary, December 7, 1619, *Fortescue Papers*, ed. S. R. Gardiner (Camden Society, 1871), pp. 108-109.

⁵⁰*A Declaration Concerning the Proceedings with the States Generall, of the United Provinces of the Low Countreys, in the Cause of D. Conradus Vorstius* (1612).

professorship of divinity at Leyden and in his religious views. When his writings came to James's attention in 1611 the King was horrified at their blasphemous and heretical character. Such a viper, James swore, was worthy of the fagot. At the moment James was much concerned in proving the purity of his own orthodoxy—a fact that rendered doubly heinous the heresy of Vorstius. James began to bombard the Dutch with demands that the wretch be dismissed from his post, and eventually he had his way. But the Dutch acted slowly, and in 1612 James gave the world a proof of his noble rage by publishing the entire correspondence. For this he needed the assistance of someone versed in foreign affairs and found him in George Calvert, an able clerk of the council and later a secretary of state. Chamberlain wrote in January, 1612, that during an absence in the country James "had been very busy in writing somewhat in French against Vorstius. In this journey Calvert . . . was settled about him and wholly employed in reading and writing." A few days earlier Calvert told Salisbury that he was writing out the discourse begun by the King. Further evidence of how Calvert worked is found in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, ambassador in Holland. When Winwood complained that one of his protests to the Dutch was omitted in James's tract, he was told that Calvert had been unable to find the document in question among the papers Lake had brought from Salisbury to the King for use in preparing the tract.⁵¹ Calvert, we must suppose, located, arranged, and copied documents, leaving to James the transitions, explanations, and scurrilous epithets.

During the last years of his life James sought the aid of a small group of workers in a project he had long held dear, a new metrical version of the Psalms for public and private worship. Spottiswood remarks that when James came to England he "set the most learned divines of that Church a-work for the translation of the

⁵¹Chamberlain to Carleton, January 29, 1612, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, I, 331. Calvert to Salisbury, January 15, 1612, *Cal. S. P. Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 111. More to Winwood, February 17, 1612, Sir Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I*, ed. Edmund Sawyer (London, 1725), III, 338. For James's efforts to set others writing against Vorstius and especially to find some "smart Jesuit who hath a quick and nimble spirit" for the undertaking, see *ibid.*, III, 310-11, 330. See also Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, II, 128.

Bib
and
a n
serv
The
tish
Hav
taki
eren
Sir
hav
wh
with
The
tion
thor
to A
T
wri
He
with
mer
con
roac
stan
nam
wor
plac
fenc
his
the
Sole

525

531

John
Rob
unde

Bible, . . . [but] the revising of the Psalms he made his own labor, and at such hours as he might spare from public cares went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithful and learned servant, who hath therein answered his Majesty's expectation."⁵² The reference is to Sir William Alexander, the well-known Scottish statesman and author. His letters to William Drummond of Hawthornden show that they both aided the King in this undertaking and that Alexander was rather put out by James's preference for his own renderings above those of his collaborators. Sir Robert Ker of the bedchamber and Sir Robert Ayton may also have been in the circle. James was still engaged in this undertaking when, as Bishop Williams remarks, God called him to sing Psalms with the angels. In 1631 and again in 1636 Alexander brought out *The Psalms of King David. Translated by King James*. The editions differ radically from each other, and scholars assume that though the work was attributed to James "the proportion of James to Alexander was as Falstaff's bread to his sack."⁵³

This paper is not to deny to James the urge that makes men write. His love of theological controversy was perfectly sincere. He labored long at his writing and clung to his pen through life with true Stuart tenacity. There are half a dozen of his works not mentioned here, and these are, so far as I know, his own. Yet two conclusions seem in order. In the first place, James took the easy road, accepted far more assistance than was compatible with normal standards of authorship, and published several pieces under his name which he had not written. His own accounts of how his works came into being are utterly untrustworthy. In the second place, the great mass of his writing had an ulterior motive: to defend himself by defending the cause of monarchy and to promote his other material interests, or else to prove to a doubting world the great, the lofty, indeed the celestial attributes of the British Solomon.

⁵²Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, III, 98-99.

⁵³David Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden* (London, 1873), pp. 117-20. John Williams, *Great Britain's Salomon* (London, 1625). *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh, 1842), III, 529-32. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under Alexander.

T
voy
attr
Jam
the
W.
gro
ing
tho
lar
boo
A
Her
of t
of t
in r
gran
sign
Sir
his
odie
hur
to

18
viii.

20

1934

31

Col

42

1704

The Maps in *Gulliver's Travels*

By FREDERICK BRACHER

THE most popular books during the reign of Queen Anne, excluding theological and religious works, were accounts of voyages and travels, geographical works, and atlases. Arber¹ attributes the vogue for this kind of book to the huge success of James Knapton's publication of Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* in 1697, which led other publishers to follow suit; and W. H. Bonner,² following up this hint, has shown in detail the growth and extent of voyage-literature after Dampier. It was during this "Silver Age of Travel" that such standard collections as those of Harris³ and the Churchills⁴ were published, and the popular interest in such works was exploited by Defoe in a number of books and later satirized by Swift in *Gulliver's Travels*.

Along with the interest in voyages went a demand for maps. Herman Moll, probably the best, and certainly the best known, of the cartographers working in England during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, rose, on the wave of popular interest in maps and atlases, from the humble obscurity of a Dutch immigrant engraver to the comfortable dignity indicated by his later signatures, "Herman Moll, Geographer," and to fellowship with Sir Samuel Stukeley and the antiquaries, scientists, and artists of his club. Moll published a number of atlases, ran a successful periodical, the *Atlas Geographus*, from 1708 to 1717, and engraved hundreds of maps, some as illustrations to travel books and some to be sold at his shop "over against Devereux-Court, between

¹Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D.* (London, 1903-6), III, viii.

²Captain William Dampier, *Buccaneer-Author* (Stanford University Press, 1934), pp. 50-67.

³John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca or, A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels . . .* (London, 1705).

⁴Awnsham and John Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1704).

Temple Bar and St. Clement's Church, in the Strand."⁵ He is one of the two contemporary figures mentioned by name in *Gulliver*, where he is described, no doubt with irony, as "my worthy friend Herman Moll." Moll's maps probably gave the average Englishman of the day his picture of the world, and they were so popular that imitation and copying became a serious problem. On a map of the world (1709) included in his *The World Described*, Moll complains of the danger of his maps being copied in Holland and "brought over hither . . . and sold under other names, to their Profit, and to ye manifest defrauding of us." It is ironical that Moll's name should have survived in literary history largely because of a publication in which his maps were copied, *Gulliver's Travels*.

When Lemuel Gulliver's *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World* was published by Benjamin Motte in October, 1726, it followed a long and popular precedent in containing a set of four maps, one for each voyage, plus a plan to illustrate the movement of the Flying Island. These maps appeared in all the editions published by Motte; they were even reproduced in the pirated Dublin editions of 1727.⁶ They were re-engraved, with some minor errors, for Faulkner's Dublin edition of 1735, and they appeared in all the later eighteenth-century editions collated by Williams.⁷ Modern editors almost always reproduce them, and,

⁵No complete bibliography of Moll's work exists. Lists of his books and maps may be found in the article on Moll in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; in Bonner, p. 65; and in P. L. Phillips, *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1909-20)—cf. references to Moll in the indexes to the various volumes. When Moll came to England in 1688, he was already an engraver of maps. Phillips (III, 177) lists a map of America signed "H. Mol schulp" in Sir Jonas Moore's *A New Geography*, published in London in 1681; and a Moll map of Hamburg is listed by Phillips (IV, 139) with the date 1686. By 1695 Moll had engraved a number of maps for *Thesaurus Geographicus*, published in that year by A. Swall and T. Child in London. His most productive period was the first two decades of the eighteenth century, but long after his death in 1732 his maps were reproduced in geographical and travel books.

Bonner (p. 65) says that the phrase "maps by H. Moll" was a profitable addition to a title-page, and he lists, among major voyage-collections featuring Moll maps, Harris' *Navigantium*, Dampier's voyages, Lionel Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, William Funnell's *A Voyage Round the World*, and Defoe's *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*.

⁶Cf. *Review of English Studies*, III, 469; and *The Library*, 4th ser. IX, 189.

⁷*Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Harold Williams (London, 1926), p. xcvi f.

considering the number of editions of *Gulliver*, they must certainly be among the most widely circulated maps in our literature.

Scholars and editors have generally assumed that the maps were added to the volume by the publisher, without Swift's authorization, but not enough has been known about the maps themselves to make this more than a guess. As to their source, Bonner⁸ cites some Moll maps in the *Atlas Geographus* and Harris' *Navigantium*, but his references are confused,⁹ and in any case the maps in these volumes differ considerably in size, outlines, and place names from those in *Gulliver's Travels*.

The maps in *Gulliver* were copied from a map by Moll, but not from any so far suggested as a source. In 1719 Moll engraved "A New & Correct Map of the Whole World Shewing ye Situation of its Principal Parts. Viz the Oceans, Kingdoms, Rivers, Capes, Ports, Mountains, Woods, Trade-Winds, Monsoons, Variation of ye Compass, Climats, &c." The map is on two sheets of "Elephant paper"; the title engraved on the sheet containing the eastern hemisphere varies slightly from that given above. The map was "Printed for John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill and Tho. Bowles in St. Pauls Church Yard" and "Sold by H: Moll, where you may have his New Atlas or Set of Twenty-seven Two-sheet Maps, bound or single, all Colour'd according to his Direction, over against Devereux-Court," etc., as well as by "I. King at the Globe in the Poultry near Stocks Market." In another advertisement inscribed on this map, Moll states that he has "finish'd a New and Compleat Atlas or Set of 27 Two-sheet Maps." In other words, the 1719 world map was the last of a set which could be obtained singly or bound together. The Huntington Library copy is contained in a tall folio volume catalogued under the title *The world described; or, a new and correct sett of maps: shewing the several empires, kingdoms, republics . . . in all the known parts of the earth . . .* [1709-1736?].

By comparing this map of Moll's with the maps in *Gulliver's*

⁸P. 176.

⁹Since the map in *Atlas Geographus*, III, 818, is a map of Japan, it could hardly be the source for Plate I, as Bonner suggests. I have not been able to check his citation of a map in LeComte's *Nouveaux Memoires sur L'Etat present de La Chine* as the original of Balnibarbi.

Travels, it is evident that the actual coast lines in the *Gulliver* maps (as distinguished from the mythical lands) were copied from Moll. Three of the maps (Lilliput, Brobdingnag, and Houyhnhmland) were obviously traced directly from Moll's map; they correspond exactly in size, in outline, and, with a few exceptions noted below, in place names and spelling. The map accompanying the voyage to Laputa is not quite so accurate a reproduction, since the copyist reduced it in scale approximately one half. Hence he could not trace it off the original, but had to redraw it as accurately as he could. But the correspondence of coast lines, place names, and spelling is unmistakable. Conclusive evidence that Moll's 1719 map is the source is found in an oversight on the part of the copyist. On the map of Lilliput, in copying the place names along the coast of Sumatra, he included the word "Sunda" in large letters between the islands of Nassow and Sillabar, as though it were another island. On Moll's map, the word "Sunda" appears in the same place, but it is only half of an extended superscription, "Sunda Islands," and the second word is on a part of the map not used by the copyist. In short, the *Gulliver* map-maker was tracing and copying literally what he found on his chosen section of Moll's map without noticing its relation to the map as a whole.

It is possible to make some deductions as to the procedure followed by the maker of the *Gulliver* maps. He had the text of the book to give approximate locations of the mythical countries, but these could only be approximate, since Swift's directions are confused and inconsistent. On each map, he tried to frame the ocean surrounding Swift's mythical land with an authentic coast line copied from Moll. In the upper right-hand corner of the first map, for example, he traced the coast of Sumatra (omitting the names of two islands, though reproducing the islands), and then, with a fine disregard for scale, drew in the islands of Lilliput and Blefuscu to the southwest. Finally, he arbitrarily placed Dimens Land (modern Tasmania) in his lower right corner, though this brings it thousands of miles too far west.

For the map of Brobdingnag, following Swift's hint that the peninsula was joined to America, his authentic frame is the California coast. On Moll's map, the northwest coast of America

extends only a little way beyond "the Straits of Annian" in 50°N . Immediately above is a boxed inset map showing the variation of the compass. The copyist traced Moll's coast of California, copying off all place names, and then added, in the space occupied by the boxed inset on Moll's map, the peninsula of Brobdingnag, again completely out of scale, and in what would be Moll's latitude $56^{\circ}\text{-}60^{\circ}\text{N}$.

On the map accompanying the Third Voyage, the shape of Japon, Iesso and Companys Land is unmistakably Moll's. Place names are the same except for a few errors in copying and the omission, presumably for lack of space, of Prince's Island and Inaba. Moll's map ends at 160°E , so that Balnibarbi is located in an area not shown by Moll.

Along the top of the map of Houyhnhnmland, the southern coast of New Holland is accurately traced, though Moll does not draw the coast line north of Sweers Island. The place names are duplicated, and the spelling is the same except for two slight errors. On Moll's map, the final *s* on "I. St. Francois" is blurred and looks like the outline of another island, and the copyist accordingly printed "I. St. Francoi." Moll has "I. Maetsuyker," which the *Gulliver* map reproduces as "I. Maelsuyker"; apparently the copyist (or the engraver) mistook the crossing of the *t* for part of a guide line for lettering. According to Moll's map, Houyhnhnmland extends approximately from 41°S to 49°S and from 110°E to 117°E (London meridian).

A number of errors in spelling indicate that the maps were drawn by one man, working from Swift's text and Moll's map, and engraved from the drawings by another man, who misread some of the names.¹⁰ The most convincing example occurs on the map accompanying the Third Voyage. According to Swift, the seaport of Luggnagg is "Glanguenstald." The map-maker, apparently an amateur, began the lettering of this word too close to the island, and, not having room to complete it, printed the last five letters above the first part of the word. The engraver apparently mistook this for two words, the letters of which he

¹⁰This has been noted by J. R. Moore, "The Geography of *Gulliver's Travels*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XL, 226.

could not quite make out. He accordingly prints "Sialo" and "Glangurn," as though they were two separate towns. Another example of the engraver's misreading on the same map is "Dimeris Strats," where Moll, and hence presumably the map-maker, have "Dimens Straits." An exhaustive list of similar errors, many of them probably due to the engraver's inability to read the (hand-written?) names on the drawings from which he engraved the plates, may be found in Professor Moore's article.¹¹

The source of the authentic portions of the *Gulliver* maps is certain; the question of the authorship and purpose of the maps is more difficult to determine. Harold Williams¹² is conservative in his summary: "There is no evidence to show whether or not Swift was responsible for that touch of realism added to his narrative by the four maps. The suggestion may have come from him; but, as he never saw proofs of the text, the plates were almost certainly engraved without reference to the author of the *Travels*."

There is some evidence, though of a negative kind, suggesting that Swift gave tacit approval to, if he was not responsible for, the inclusion of the maps. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that he did not strike them out of Faulkner's edition of 1735, along with the other "trash" and "new things foysted in," about which he complained so bitterly to Ford.¹³ Faulkner's edition represents the closest approximation to Swift's original manuscript, and in that edition, though parts of Motte's text were stricken out, the maps remain.¹⁴

In his correspondence from 1727 to 1734 Swift complains fre-

¹¹P. 226 and *passim*.

¹²P. lxxix.

¹³*The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, ed. D. Nichol Smith (Oxford, 1935), pp. 161 f.

¹⁴Faulkner went to the expense of having the maps re-engraved, as is proved by errors in copying: e.g., "Blefuscu" appears in Faulkner's map as "Blefuscut," and there are differences in lettering and in the ornamental ships and sea monsters.

It should be noted in passing that the maps were printed separately and tipped in when the books were bound. Intaglio printing was done with a roller (cf. the map of Houyhnhnmland in the Huntington Library copy of the large paper edition of 1726, where the bottom line of the border has failed to print, presumably because the roller was not run completely across the plate). Hence, the

quently of the errors, omissions, and additions in the Motte editions, but nowhere does he specifically mention the maps as being spurious. This failure to complain about the maps, if they were unauthorized additions, is the more surprising since Swift's works indicate some interest in maps in general. In addition to mere figures of speech ("like a just map," etc.), there are passages which show a critical interest in the process of map-making. The passages in *Gulliver's Travels* are well known: Gulliver criticizes Herman Moll for an error in the longitude of New Holland,¹⁵ and offers to lend his assistance to the geographers of Europe, who "ought to correct their Maps and Charts, by joining this vast Tract of Land (Brobdingnag) to the North-west Parts of *America*."¹⁶ One of Swift's footnotes to the *Tale of a Tub*¹⁷ refers to "O. Brazile" as "an imaginary Island . . . placed in some unknown part of the Ocean, meerly at the Fancy of the Map-maker." Finally, in *On Poetry, a Rhapsody*, occurs the famous criticism of seventeenth-century Dutch map-makers:

So Geographers in *Afric*-Maps
With Savage-Pictures fill their gaps;
And o'er unhabitable Downs
Place Elephants for want of Towns.

maps were not in the gatherings, and even if Swift read Faulkner's proof of the text, he might not have seen the maps. In any case, he did not take pains to have the maps stricken out.

¹⁵At this time there was no accurate method of determining longitude at sea; the chronometer was not perfected and in use until the second half of the century. The undependability of mariners' reports of longitude was extremely troublesome to cartographers engaged in charting newly discovered lands. For the layman, the whole problem was made more confusing by the existence of different systems of numbering longitude on maps. Moll used both London and Ferro, in the Canary Islands, for base-meridians; Sanson commonly used Ferro.

The longitudes given in *Gulliver* are sometimes obviously in error and are difficult to interpret in any case, since we have no way of knowing what base-meridian Swift had in mind. Furthermore, Swift followed the general practice of omitting the signs "E" and "W." Longitude was usually read eastward up to 360°; thus "longitude 183" meant 177°W in modern notation. But this might mean 177° west of London, or of Ferro, a difference of about 18°.

¹⁶*Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1941), pp. 268, 95.

¹⁷*A Tale of a Tub*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1939), p. 78.

Another reference to maps, during the very time in which Motte was printing his first edition of *Gulliver*, occurs in a letter of October 15, 1726.¹⁸ It is addressed to Pope and Gay, and acknowledges a "Cheddar" letter from Pope, Gay and Bolingbroke, only part of which has been preserved. Swift says, "I received your map and pictures. By the latter I could not find out the originals, and your map is as much a caricatura of Bibury, as the others must be of I do not know who." This map has not been preserved, but it was apparently a humorous sketch of a place recently visited by the correspondents; Pope, in a letter to Swift on August 22, 1726,¹⁹ reminds him of "the pleasing prospect of Bibury," which, according to Elwin's note, they had seen in the course of a visit to Lord Bathurst's seat at Cirencester during the summer of 1726. But the letter does indicate that amateur cartography was not unknown to the "Three Yahoos of Twickenham."

One more bit of evidence may be cited as possibly bearing on the question of Swift's responsibility for the maps in *Gulliver*. Writing to Ford on November 20, 1733,²⁰ Swift says, "Motte tells me He designs to print a new Edition of Gulliver in quarto, with Cutts and all as it was in the genuin copy."²¹ The word "copy" was used at that time, as it is now, to mean manuscript sent to the printer,²² and if we accept the punctuation given by Nichol Smith, the passage suggests that the "cutts" (i.e., maps) were in the "genuin copy." But the passage might be taken to mean a quarto edition with cuts, and all (i.e., the text) as it was in the genuine copy. If this was Swift's meaning, as seems most likely, the "cutts" probably refer to illustrations, not maps. As early as December, 1727 Motte had proposed to bring out an illustrated edition of

¹⁸*The Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. W. Elwin (London, 1871), VII, 81.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, VII, 70.

²⁰*Letters of Swift to Ford*, p. 161.

²¹Motte's quarto edition, designed to anticipate Faulkner's proposed 1735 edition about which Motte was "very uneasy," was never published.

²²Cf. Pope's letter to Swift, Nov. 16, 1726 (*The Works of Alexander Pope*, VII, 86): "Motte received the copy . . . dropped at his house in the dark, from a hackney coach."

Gulliver, and Swift had sent him a list of the passages which might serve as subjects for illustration.²³

It is tempting to imagine the friends of Swift, whom we know to have been amateur map-makers, occupying some leisure hours at Twickenham during the summer of 1726 in preparing maps to accompany the long-heralded *Travels*, which were at the time probably being transcribed so that Swift's handwriting would not reveal their authorship. Ford might have drawn the sketches, or Gay—it is the kind of hoax Gay would have enjoyed. But against any such supposition is one fact which seems to me conclusive: the map-maker clearly had great difficulty in following the contradictory hints as to location given in the text, and produced, in at least one instance, only a desperate compromise. If the map-maker had been one of Swift's companions, he could have asked the author to clear up the geographical anomalies²⁴ of his text.

The most serious muddles occur in Swift's account of the location of Lilliput and of Balnibarbi. Lilliput is said to be to the northwest of Van Diemen's Land in about 30°2'S, which, even according to the maps of the day, would have put it inland in Australia. Furthermore, when Gulliver left Blefuscu he sailed north, to reach if possible one of those islands which lay to the northeast of Van Diemen's Land. Professor Case²⁵ points out that if we emend "northwest," in the original account of the location of Lilliput, to "northeast" of Van Diemen's Land, all the difficulties disappear; and it is hard not to agree with him that Swift meant to locate Lilliput off the then completely unknown east coast of Australia. If, as seems to me certain, this was Swift's intention, still the map-maker had no way of knowing it, and he went to work conscientiously to make what sense he could of Swift's garbled directions.

On Moll's map a true northwest line from Van Diemen's Land to 30°S reaches a point inland in Australia. But if one follows the

²³*The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. E. Ball (London, 1910-14), III, 439 f.

²⁴These have been pointed out by L. W. Hubbard, *Contributions Toward a Bibliography of Gulliver's Travels* (Chicago, 1922), p. 93; by Williams, p. lxxix; and with overwhelming detail by Moore.

²⁵*Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Arthur E. Case (New York, 1938), p. 351.

30th parallel farther west, he reaches a point in the Indian Ocean which is at least west-northwest, if not strictly northwest of Van Diemen's Land, and here the map-maker placed Lilliput. For a bordering coast line he had his choice of New Holland to the east or Sumatra to the north. The coast of New Holland was to appear in the map for the Fourth Voyage, so he traced the coast of Sumatra at the top of his map, drew in Lilliput and Blefuscu in the proper latitude according to Moll, and then, to meet the other requirement of Swift's text, drew Van Diemen's Land in the lower right-hand corner. The map, on the whole, suggests that the maker had read the text carefully and made the best he could of its inconsistencies.

The map accompanying the Third Voyage must also have given its maker trouble. The general location, off the coast of Japan, was clear enough, and the map-maker copied the coast line of Japon, Iesso, and Companys Land from Moll's 1719 world map, including the desert island shown by Moll and the two northernmost of the Ladrões, Urac and Timas. He drew in Luggnagg with approximate correctness: on Moll's map it would extend from 26°N to 34°N, and from 150°E to 162°E; Swift says it lies "South Eastwards of *Japan*," in "about 29 Degrees North Latitude, and 140 Longitude." But when the map-maker came to draw in Balnibarbi, he ran into flat contradictions in Swift's text. Balnibarbi is said to be in the neighborhood of 46°N, 183° (i.e., 177°W), but it is also said that Luggnagg (29°N) is northwest of Balnibarbi. Swift erred either in the latitude of Balnibarbi or in the direction of Luggnagg. Dr. Case²⁶ takes the former view, and says that the correct position "is probably about 19°N. 145°W." But it seems to me more likely that Swift, when he wrote of Balnibarbi as part of a continent which "extends itself, as I have Reason to believe, Eastward to that unknown Tract of *America*, Westward of *California*," was thinking of the mythical territory of Iesso (sometimes confused with the equally mythical Companys Land), which appears on many maps of the period²⁷ running east and west

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 160.

²⁷Cf., for example, Moll maps in Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* (London, 1703) and *The Compleat Geographer* (London, 1709), II, 225.

between Asia and North America in approximately 45°N . The conflicting opinions of geographers as to the location of, or the existence of, this land suited Swift's purpose admirably. He could locate his mythical kingdom in a region which people had heard of but about which no exact information was available.

On this view, the error is again one of direction; Swift meant to put Luggnagg *southwest* of Balnibarbi. In any case, the map-maker, forced again to choose between conflicting instructions, placed Balnibarbi between 38° and 46°N , ignoring the difficulties in direction. In longitude, according to Moll's map, Balnibarbi extends from 179°E . to 169°W . The map in Book III contains several errors not accounted for by ambiguities in Swift's text. Balnibarbi appears as an island, instead of part of a continent. The seaport of Maldonado is erroneously located on Luggnagg, and this error causes another in the location of Glubbdubdrib, said by Swift to be "about five Leagues off to the South-West" of Maldonado.

All of these discrepancies between map and text suggest that the maps were made without Swift's aid or authority, by someone

N. Sanson, the immensely popular French cartographer whose *Atlas* Gulliver mentions by name, consistently portrayed the land of Iesso on his maps. A collection of Sanson maps of North America, described by H. R. Wagner in *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (University of California Press, 1937), I, 130 f., and now in the Wagner collection at the Pomona College Library, enables one to follow Sanson's changing views on the existence and location of this mythical land. In general, on these maps, Iesso extends east and west from a point just off the California coast almost to Japan, in 40° - 45°N .

A particularly clear depiction of "Tierre de Iesso" (also labeled "Tierre de la Compagnie") is on the "Mappe-Monde Geo-Hydrographique," signed by "le Sr. Sanson" and dated 1674, which is included in *Atlas Nouveau*, published by H. Jaillot, Sanson's successor, at Paris in 1684. This large volume, or a later edition of it, may well have been in Swift's mind when he described a Brobdingnagian book as "not much larger than a *Sanson's Atlas*."

The coast of Iesso, as it appeared on these maps, probably gave Swift a hint for his location of Brobdingnag. Discussing the size of this land, Gulliver concludes that "our Geographers of *Europe* are in a great Error, by supposing nothing but Sea between *Japan* and *California*: For it was ever my Opinion, that there must be a Balance of Earth to counterpoise the great Continent of *Tartary* . . ." After his involuntary departure from the south coast of Brobdingnag, Gulliver is picked up in the vicinity of 44°N "and of Longitude 143° ."

who had only the text to work from. Professor Moore²⁸ has pointed out that the map-maker probably worked from the printed text, rather than from the transcript of Swift's original manuscript. There is no indication, on map or plan in the Third Voyage, of the city of Lindalino (Dublin), which is mentioned in connection with Swift's satire on the episode of Wood's halfpence and the *Drapier's Letters*. This section of the text was not printed in Motte's editions, being stricken out, as Swift thought, by Andrew Tooke, who apparently was engaged by Motte to edit the manuscript which had landed so mysteriously on his doorstep. The map-maker, argues Dr. Moore, did not include Lindalino for the very good reason that it was not mentioned in the (edited or printed) text from which he worked. If this argument be admitted, it provides one more bit of proof that the map-maker was neither Swift nor a friend who might have seen the work in manuscript.

The preceding discussion, in a sense, serves merely to confirm the probable, if not the obvious. Motte, recognizing the value of this satirical parody of the voyagers which had fallen into his hands, decided to carry the parody one step further. He could not consult the author, even if he had known so early that it was Swift, for Swift was in Ireland. Popular taste demanded maps in books of voyages, and he would give them maps. While the book was being edited, set in type, and printed, he commissioned someone to draw the maps, had them engraved (along with a portrait of Gulliver), and bound them in all editions of the *Travels*.

The identity of the map-maker is an interesting question, though perhaps not of great importance. It is clear, from the errors in spelling mentioned above, that the engraver did not make the map, but merely copied it, none too carefully. This fact would seem to eliminate the two most obvious candidates: John Sturt and Robert Sheppard, who signed, as engravers, the portrait of Gulliver which appeared (in several slightly different states) in Motte's editions. Both of these men were professional engravers, and were frequently hired by publishers to engrave the illustrations for

²⁸P. 225, n.

books published during the first half of the century.²⁹ But even if it be assumed, as is quite likely, that Sturt and Sheppard engraved the maps, the identity of the man who drew the maps is still to seek.

Two other candidates suggest themselves: Andrew Tooke, son of Benjamin Tooke, the bookseller who published Swift's early works, and Andrew Motte, brother to the publisher of *Gulliver's Travels*. Andrew Tooke, at the time an usher at Charterhouse, was, according to Swift,³⁰ the man engaged to edit and modify the manuscript of *Gulliver* before Motte would risk his ears in bringing it out. It is possible that he sketched the maps, and included them with the other unauthorized additions, in the course of preparing the copy for the printer.

As to Andrew Motte, we know that he assisted his brother in editorial work: in 1721 the Mottes brought out an abridgment of the transactions of the Royal Society from 1700 to 1720, illustrated with "above 60 original copper-plates."³¹ Significantly, in view of the carelessness displayed by our map-maker, this edition was "very incorrect," and was so severely criticized by a rival editor that Motte felt obliged to answer in a pamphlet published in 1732.³² Furthermore, we know that Andrew Motte was an amateur engraver and had engaged in book illustration. In 1719, a set of drawings was made by Peter Tillemans to illustrate the proposed *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* of John Bridges. These drawings were engraved by a number of men, including Andrew Motte, a friend of Mr. Bridges.³³ Some of these plates engraved by A. Motte were preserved, and at least one was printed when Bridges' work finally appeared in 1791.³⁴

²⁹Among others, the portrait of Isaac Bickerstaff, which appeared in the first collected edition of the *Tatler*, and the illustrations added to the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub* were engraved by Sturt.

³⁰*Letters of Swift to Ford*, pp. 154, 162.

³¹John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1812-16), I, 213.

³²*Ibid.*, I, 482.

³³*Ibid.*, VIII, 683.

³⁴John Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, ed. Peter Whalley (Oxford, 1791), II, 546. A plate entitled "The Inward View of the Choir of Peterborow Cathedral" is signed by A. Motte, and several other plates

A priori, it would seem quite likely either that Benjamin Motte asked his brother Andrew to do the maps for *Gulliver*, or that Andrew Tooke was commissioned to do them along with his editing of the manuscript. But there is one serious objection, which applies to both men. It has often been pointed out that the maps in *Gulliver's Travels* display a reckless disregard for scale, particularly in the maps of Lilliput and Brobdingnag, and Dr. Moore³⁵ shows that the map-maker had no more conception than did Swift of the distortions of distance in northerly latitudes which are implicit in the Mercator projection of the globe. Both Andrew Tooke and Andrew Motte were learned men, and by a curious coincidence, both had been professors of geometry at Gresham College.³⁶ It is hardly conceivable that a trained mathematician could have drawn the crude maps of Brobdingnag and Balnibarbi, with their errors of scale and distance and their naive disregard of the most elementary principles of map projection.

On the whole, perhaps the best clue is furnished by the portrait of Gulliver which appears in the Motte editions. It is signed "Sturt et. Sheppard. Sc." The form of this suggests a common method of signing engravings; for example, the frontispiece to *A Tale of a Tub* is signed "B. Lens delin; J. Sturt Sculp." However, the reading *et* in the signature to the Gulliver portrait is made unmistakable by the appearance of the same word, in the same lettering, in the quotation from Persius added to the second state of the portrait. But two men are not likely to share in the engraving of a picture. A much more plausible supposition, despite the ambiguous signature, is that one of them drew the picture and the other engraved it. We know that Sturt had had experience in delineating as well as engraving; he kept a drawing school in St. Paul's Churchyard in partnership with Bernard Lens, and the two frequently worked together for the booksellers, Lens delineating and Sturt engraving. But Lens had died in 1725, and

of Peterborough, though not signed, display the stiff, mechanical style of Motte's work.

³⁵P. 218 f.

³⁶Cf. the articles in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

it seems likely that the Gulliver portrait, executed between August and October, 1726, was one of the early efforts of a new team: Sturt, now a man of 68, delineating and Sheppard, a young man just getting a start in his profession, doing the engraving.

If Sturt and Sheppard respectively drew and engraved the portrait of Gulliver for Motte, it is quite likely that they were also commissioned to do the maps, and worked on them in the same way. "In books of this period a signature is often found only on the first of a series of cuts,"³⁷ and the illustrations added to the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub* provide a clear example of this practice. Sturt was primarily an engraver of portraits, and maps were just enough out of his line to account for the amateurish treatment of the mythical countries added to the tracing of Moll's map. Sheppard, working from Sturt's map, misread some of the place names and produced the errors noted above.

One question remains to be considered. If Sturt and Sheppard made the maps and Motte added them to the book without Swift's consent or knowledge, why did not Swift make some effort to have them removed in subsequent editions? He was obviously disturbed by the "new things foysted in," and he took advantage of an opportunity to strike out parts of Motte's text when Faulkner was preparing the Dublin edition for which he claimed Swift's supervision, but the maps were re-engraved so that they might be included.

The answer is probably to be found in Swift's disdain for the kind of knowledge embodied in maps, voyages, and geographical works. Quite apart from their lies and errors, which Swift noted so scornfully, the voyages represented increments in that kind of "modern" knowledge, so dear to members of the Royal Society, which, while increasing man's knowledge of the external world, was blandly indifferent to his moral improvement. Swift did not take geography more seriously than was necessary to satirize it; his carelessness with geographic details in *Gulliver* provides additional evidence of his contempt for natural, as opposed to moral, philosophy.

³⁷*A Tale of a Tub*, ed. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith (Oxford, 1920), p. xxiv.

Moreover, his complaints about the "mingled and mangled" version which Motte printed seem to have one primary motivation: his pride as a writer was hurt by having stylistically inferior matter added to his text. But the maps offered no threat to his vanity or his repute as a writer, since it was well known that the publisher of a book of voyages hired someone like Herman Moll to do the cartography. If, like the obscure references in *A Tale of a Tub*, the inaccuracies of the maps bewildered and irritated the reader, so much the better. The author who reported with delight the story of the skeptical Irish bishop was not one to worry about misleading the amateur geographers in his audience.

I
cen
and
and
of
Bu
one
a li
hav
auc
bor
cer
Fre
or
one
fift
en
the
I
wa
od
ren
On
the
wh
vie
im
be
the

James T. Fields and the Beginnings of Book Promotion, 1840-1855

By WILLIAM CHARVAT

IN RECENT years much has been written concerning the efflorescence of American literature about the middle of the nineteenth century. Mr. Matthiessen has ably discussed the tone, the quality, and the aesthetic psychology of American romantic literature, and Mr. Brooks has revealed the New England writers as products of a regional culture and as points in the curve of a culture-cycle. But the genius or talent of a newly emergent group of writers is one thing; the transformation of genius into books which provide a living for the geniuses is quite another—and on this subject we have little information. No great art can flourish unless it has an audience and unless artists can live on it: in other words, to be born and to survive, it must have patronage. Up to the eighteenth century that patronage was predominantly royal or aristocratic. From about 1700 on it has been increasingly public, or popular, or democratic—in a word, commercial. The transition from the one kind of patronage to the other was long and chaotic; but the fifteen years which are described in these pages represent the end, in America, of that transition. The last five years of it are those of the first full flowering of American literature.

I propose to describe some of the means by which literary art was put on a basis of effective democratic patronage. If a slight odor of venality hovers over some of these proceedings, let us remember that flowers do not bloom luxuriantly without fertilizer. On the other hand, if these revelations seem a little appalling to the aesthete, it is because literary historians have failed, on the whole, to recognize the fact that literature is, from one point of view, a form of business enterprise. Writers must eat, and the improvement in their diet since 1800 (in America, at least) is to be accounted for, to an appreciable extent, by improvements in the manufacture and marketing of their books. Considered in his-

torical perspective, the business methods of early publishers, as described in this paper, were neither better nor worse than those of other respectable merchants and manufacturers; and if competition among them engendered abuses, time and experience have supplied correctives.

In 1840 the general problem of the American publisher was that of all manufacturers: mass production and distribution. For the book manufacturer, accelerated competition called for speeding up and reducing the cost of printing processes by means of improved machinery; greater production created a need for wider markets; and expanding markets called for new sales and distributive techniques.

The result of all this was a kind of business revolution. Up to about 1835 American publishing was predominantly local: most cities and towns in the Atlantic states produced their own books; and almost all publishers were primarily retail booksellers. When a bookseller printed a work whose interest transcended local boundaries, he sold sheets to booksellers in other towns who bound them up for distribution in their own neighborhoods. Thus a book sometimes appeared with the imprints of half-a-dozen booksellers, in as many towns. Some publishers simplified this cumbersome system by assigning the market of a book in a whole area to one large retailer who distributed it at a discount to smaller stores.¹

The South and West were not so easily served, in the days before transportation had developed considerably, but New York and Philadelphia had natural geographic advantages which allowed such houses as Harpers in New York and the Carey-Lea-Blanchard dynasty in Philadelphia to monopolize the book business out to the receding frontier. That is a major reason, perhaps, why New York and Philadelphia were more important literary centers up to 1850 than Boston: they controlled a wider market area. We are still too ignorant of publishing history to make such pronouncements with absolute certainty, but when the subject has

¹Carey and Hart (Philadelphia) to Longfellow, Nov. 28, 1845: "We have sold the entire market [for Longfellow's illustrated *Poems*] for Mass[achusetts] to Messrs. Ticknor & Co." MS, Craigie House.

been explored it is possible that the tendency to discuss literary history in terms of geographical "schools" of writers—of inscrutable "flowerings" of genius in New York or Boston or Chicago—will have to give way to more realistic analysis. Consider, for example, that much of New England's famous flowering went on in Philadelphia and New York. For one thing, before the founding of the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1857, most of the paid contributions of Boston authors appeared in periodicals published in other cities. For another, most of the New England writers who reached professional maturity before 1840—Bryant, Dana, Willis, Prescott, Sparks, Bancroft—did much or most of their book publishing outside of Boston. Even the better known men—Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Hawthorne—published some of their early work in New York or Philadelphia. The fact is that Boston publishers came dangerously close to missing out on the New England renaissance. A case in point is Longfellow, who, having experimented with publishers, committed himself to a Boston firm only in 1847. Before that date he brought out five of his most remunerative books through New York and Philadelphia houses. When *Evangeline* was ready in 1847, Ticknor had to offer a higher royalty than Harpers to get it—higher, probably, than had ever been given for poetry in Boston. Except for Holmes and Emerson, the other major writers turned permanently to Boston publishers even later—Whittier and Lowell in 1849, Hawthorne in 1850. In other words, New England literary activity did not achieve its remarkable unity and homogeneity until the middle of the century, and its pre-eminence in literary publishing was not assured until the *Atlantic* was founded. As late as 1866 Bayard Taylor made this interesting statement to Aldrich: "If it were not for the damnable want of unity among our authors, we should have had Ticknor and Fields in Broadway by this time. Even now, it is the best place for them, if they would but see it."²

Much of the credit for making Boston the center of literary activity, however belatedly, must go to the firm of Ticknor and Fields, ancestor of Houghton, Mifflin Company, and it is likely (although, again, further investigation is needed) that this enter-

²March 16, 1866. MS, Harvard College Library.

prising house won the business of New England writers by developing a national market for their books. Without belittling the business sagacity of William D. Ticknor, it can be shown that James T. Fields's special talents enabled the company to sell its publications in quantity all over the country despite the geographical disadvantages of Boston and the jealousy of other literary centers. Fields had a gift for what is now called "promotion"; in his own time it was a new but rapidly developing brand of American business enterprise which was shared by his contemporaries, P. T. Barnum, Henry Ward Beecher, James Gordon Bennett, George R. Graham, and Robert Bonner. Fields was a more subtle promoter than some of these, but he was no less successful.

Having begun as a clerk in the firm of Allen and Ticknor in 1832, Fields became Ticknor's junior partner in 1843 and a full partner in 1854. A student of the early history of the firm quotes an authority to the effect that when Fields was made junior partner, to him "was delegated the responsibility for the literary and social contacts of the firm."³ While it is true that Fields was corresponding with Whittier and Longfellow as early as 1840, it is unlikely that his real value to the firm in 1843 is accurately indicated by the phrase "literary and social contacts," unless its author had his tongue in his cheek. In view of the condition of book publicity at that time, it is far more likely that his real usefulness lay in his relations with men, not then well known, who had access to the book columns of newspapers and magazines—his old friend E. P. Whipple, Epes Sargent, Park Benjamin, H. T. Tuckerman, and Rufus Griswold. In the absence of the systematized publicity techniques which today we take for granted, these men were indispensable links between publishers and the periodicals in which books were noticed and reviewed. At their worst they were logrollers and parasites; at their best they were useful agents of the literary profession which in the 1840's was struggling to be born. Inasmuch as their activities were necessarily

³Florence W. Newsome, "The Publishing and Literary Activities of the Predecessors of Ticknor and Fields, 1829-1849" (Master's thesis, Boston University, 1942), p. 53.

anonymous, their methods must be reconstructed from such of their correspondence as has survived. At any rate, it was Fields's job to deal with these gentry, and with editors.

The situation which Fields faced in 1843 was somewhat as follows. Book reviewing in the newspapers was completely haphazard. There were no literary editors, no signed reviews. Reviews were, for the most part, short notices, laudatory if the publisher advertised or had influence, libelous if someone on the staff, or some favored outsider, disliked the author or the publisher.⁴ Newspapermen were overworked and underpaid. As late as 1849, so conscientious a critic as George Ripley of the *New York Tribune* complained that he not only wrote all of the book notices but had charge of city news as well, and that he had to work night and day to earn his salary,⁵ which was ten dollars a week. It is unlikely that less able and erudite men had time to read books and prepare notices, and under such conditions, countless small venalities on the part of publishers and newspapermen alike were inevitable.

Magazines were hardly subject to corruption through advertising, since few printed any. The publisher's approach to periodicals, and to newspapers as well, was through review copies. These made up the bulk of his advertising expense. Publishers' accountings to authors in the forties show that from 150 to 250 copies of a promising new work were sent to editors, constituting as much as 10 per cent of a first printing. Inasmuch as there were, in 1840, over 1,500 American magazines and newspapers,⁶ it was easy for a publisher to incur the displeasure of an editor who had the power to hurt him, by not sending him books or by sending him the wrong ones. Horace Greeley wrote Griswold in 1840, "I shall walk right into your Philadelphia publishers [Carey and Hart] very brisk, if they don't behave themselves. They have sent me three or four of their ordinary rye-and-Indian novels this

⁴W. A. Jones, in *Arcturus*, I, 149 (Feb., 1841): "A newspaper criticism is generally a puff or a libel."

⁵Ripley to J. S. Dwight, July, 1849. MS, Boston Public Library.

⁶F. L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 342.

week, and *not* Mrs. Norton's poems, which you know the New Yorker has done as much to sell as any other paper."⁷

To the impecunious employees and owners of the shaky periodicals of that day, editorial copies were an object of some consideration, particularly if the publications were expensive. In 1845, H. J. Raymond, later editor of the *New York Times*, told Griswold that if he could get Lindsay and Blakiston, Philadelphia publishers, to send him one of the twenty-five-dollar copies of Wilkes's book on exploring, he would write six or ten articles for it in the *New York Courier*. "I will very gladly write extended notices of any books of which they send *me* a copy." But if they were sent to the editor, who regularly discharged his obligations by copying reviews from other papers, Raymond would write "only such notices as are matters of course."⁸ In view of these facts, it is a little naïve for a biographer to boast, as George Ticknor did of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* (1843), that a book had drawn 130 good newspaper notices.⁹ This work was a six-dollar set, and Harpers were not likely to waste money again on any editor who failed to acknowledge it properly.

How publishers arranged for the writing of acceptable notices is an interesting matter. One common method was to ask the author's friends to write or to place reviews in home-town newspapers where they had influence. Thus Hawthorne reviewed Longfellow and Melville in the *Salem Advertiser*. George S. Hillard, who acted as literary attorney for his friends Hawthorne, Longfellow, and Francis Lieber, had strong influence on the *Boston Courier*, of which he became part owner in 1856,¹⁰ and in its columns appeared reviews of Prescott's *Mexico* by friend C. C.

⁷W. M. Griswold, *Passages from the Correspondence . . . of Rufus W. Griswold* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 51.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 175. John R. Thompson of the *Southern Literary Messenger* asked Longfellow to intercede with Fields, who had apparently taken the *Messenger* off his editorial list because it did not do justice to his books. Fields wrote Longfellow (November, 1849; MS, Craigie House) that hereafter Thompson would receive good books for very poor notices. Griswold carried favor with Whipple by placing the *Boston Times* on Carey and Hart's editorial list (Griswold to Whipple, Jan. 17, 1842; MS, Yale Library).

⁹*Life of William Hickling Prescott* (Boston, 1864), p. 205.

¹⁰Hillard to Lieber, Jan. 6, 1860. MS, Huntington Library.

Felton, and of various Ticknor and Fields authors by Whipple, who knew most of the Boston writers. When Harpers published R. H. Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* in 1840, they wrote him that they were sending copies to the principal editors of Boston, of which they enclosed a list of twelve, and added, "We shall feel obliged if you can exert a favorable influence on the 'notices'; which we have no doubt is the case, both by your intimacy with the editors and by local feeling, aside from the intrinsic merit of the book."¹¹ When Ticknor and Fields published Boker's *Plays and Poems* in 1856, the author sent them a list of twenty friends in half a dozen cities, who, he said, would review his book, and he promised to distribute copies in the right places in Philadelphia.¹²

But usually reviews came to editors in a less roundabout way. The *Charleston Courier* asserted in 1856 that review copies were usually accompanied by several prepared notices which the editor was tactfully invited to use if they would save him trouble,¹³ and there is no lack of evidence that this system was used in the early forties and that editors took advantage of it. Such prepared notices were procured by publishers from various sources. Sometimes junior members of the firm wrote them and passed them on to editorial friends. The notices were then clipped and sent to other editors along with review copies. Fields wrote Bayard Taylor in 1849, "If you do not care to use this article of mine for the *Tribune*, it may serve your tired brain some purpose elsewhere. No one need know that I wrote it, if you please."¹⁴ H. C. Baird, of Hart and Baird, performed similar services for his company,¹⁵ and it is possible that Frederick Saunders, an employee of Harp-

¹¹Sept. 17, 1840. MS, Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹²March 16, 1856. MS, Huntington Library.

¹³Jan. 9, 1856. Reprinted in the *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*, Jan. 19, 1856.

¹⁴April 10, 1849. MS, Huntington Library. In December, 1849, Fields asked Longfellow to send the editor of the *Boston Sentinel* a poem "to be headed by an article touching the new Bk. which I will write for him." MS, Craigie House.

¹⁵Baird, in a letter to Griswold, Dec. 16, 1848, said he had written a notice of Griswold's *Poets* "which Mr. Hart thinks will do . . . I am just commencing, and require practice." MS, Boston Public Library.

ers,¹⁶ and Francis Underwood, of Phillips, Sampson and Company, did the same sort of work.

More often, it is likely, publishers made use of a group of hack writers who served as agents for authors, or publishers, or magazines—sometimes all three, as in the case of the ubiquitous and versatile Mr. Griswold, whose anthologies had made him a kind of patron of publicity. An analysis of Griswold's letters shows that in the space of seventeen years (1839-1856) he functioned in various business capacities for at least thirteen book publishers, twelve magazines, eight newspapers, and seven authors. It is no wonder that in 1843, when sixteen-year-old Charles Eliot Norton took a trip to New York, Longfellow asked Griswold to show him around. "I want him to look a little in the Literary *machinery* at work around him—the Editors' chambers, and publishers' dens, and the *whereabouts* of penny-a-liners."¹⁷ During most of the decade Griswold seems to have been a paid publicity and author-contact man for Carey and Hart and their successors. Horace Greeley said so rather crudely when he wrote Griswold in 1847 that he had arranged for him to contribute a literary column to the *New York Advertiser*. "You understand what is wanted. A column not of puffs of your books, nor Carey's, nor anybody's, but of stuff that will cause the paper to be read and preserved"¹⁸—high-toned language from a man who, in 1840, had asked Griswold to get a notice into the *Philadelphia Ledger*, with the admonition, "pay for it rather than not get a good one."¹⁹ The same note is struck in a letter from Carey and Hart to Griswold: the publishers said that they would get his review of one of their books into the *Philadelphia North American* "even if we have to pay for it."²⁰ In 1847 they instructed their agent to get Park Benjamin to

¹⁶"He was for some time connected with the Harpers, as their literary critic, taster, and man-of-all-work in that department." MS, annotated: "George Ripley thus refers to Saunders in his newspaper correspondence, 14 Dec. 1849," Griswold Papers, Boston Public Library.

¹⁷Apr. 13, 1843. MS, Harvard College Library.

¹⁸Griswold, *Correspondence*, p. 223.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 233.

reprint, along with an advertisement of one of their books, a review to be clipped from the *Richmond Times*.²¹

But Griswold had too much energy to confine his work to Carey and Hart. His friendship with Fields, which went back to 1841, was on the "Dear James"- "Dear Rufus" level and sufficiently close for Griswold to invite Fields to be his best man at his third wedding, in 1852. Their professional intimacy is no less obvious, for on July 10, 1843, Griswold wrote him, "Did you see what a puff I gave Tennyson [then being published by Ticknor] in the *Sat Eve Post*? . . . You must send a copy to that paper and one to me, which shall be duly acknowledged. I puff your books, you know, without any regard to their quality."²² For these services, and later ones,²³ Fields seemed to have paid in kind rather than in cash. In 1842 he got J. S. Dwight to "do the amiable" for Griswold's *Poets* in the *Christian Examiner*,²⁴ and he himself probably reviewed his friend's *Female Poets of America* in *Graham's Magazine* in March, 1849.²⁵ An attempt earlier that year was less fortunate. He reported to Griswold on January 17, 1849, that his article on the *Female Poets* in the *Boston Atlas* "was altered and revised by an individual who was usurping the Editorial chair during [the editors'] absence. I was mortified and maddened . . . To print it castrated and nonsensed, with 'an admirer' tacked on to the end was an insult I resented I assure you." But, he added comfortingly, "I have written an article . . . for Parley's *Pic-Nic*, which goes into all our families here, and will also be printed in the *Bee* with a circulation of some 5000."²⁶ Still another revelation of the sufferings of publishers in their dealings with newspapers appears in a letter of November 12, 1855. "I have only today learned the real reason why my notice [of the sixth edition of Griswold's *Poets*] has not appeared in the *Transcript*. It seems the Correspondent of the

²¹Hart to Griswold, Nov. 10, 1847. MS, Boston Public Library.

²²MS, Huntington Library.

²³Griswold promised to review Whittier's *Margaret Smith's Journal* in return for a copy of the book. Griswold to Fields, undated MS, Huntington Library.

²⁴Fields to Griswold, May 6, 1842. MS, Boston Public Library.

²⁵Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold* (1943), p. 154.

²⁶Jan. 17, 1849. MS, Boston Public Library.

Transcript itself, is an American Poet who does not like yr. notice of him, and so Haskell [the editor] has been instructed by him to be chary of praise in noticing the new Ed." Fields assured Griswold that he had approached Haskell and that the latter "knows he will offend me if he says ought disparaging to you."²⁷

Other letters show that Griswold probably ground out notices for Harpers,²⁸ who hired him to edit, on salary, an encyclopedia of biography;²⁹ for T. B. Peterson, the Philadelphia pirate, who wrote him furtively on January 7, 1850, "I would like you to get a good notice of [Peterson's twenty-five-cent edition of Anne Bronte's *Agnes Gray*] in the Tribune and any other papers in New York you can, *all of them if possible*, and you can send your Bill to me for your trouble. . . . Tear this up and let *no* one see it";³⁰ for George W. Childs, also of Philadelphia;³¹ and for Herman Hooker of New York.³²

Griswold's status is fairly clear, but that of Edwin Percy Whipple, who had real standing as a critic, is much less so. There is no evidence to back up Van Wyck Brooks's assertion that Whipple was the chief reader for Ticknor and Fields. Though he did read one or two of Hawthorne's novels in manuscript, he more frequently read works in the form of proof, which suggests that he functioned as publicity man rather than as a reader. But there is no evidence that he was on Ticknor and Fields's payroll in this capacity either, and it is quite possible to charge off his long and valuable services to the house to his boyhood friendship with Fields and to his later intimacy with Fields's authors. If his reviews were almost invariably kindly, it would be much easier to prove that his criticism was naturally of the appreciative variety than that he was paid for his work.

Nevertheless, his criticism needs to be scrutinized from a new angle. He had, from the early forties, precisely the kind of

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸Harper Brothers to Griswold, June 11, 1841, May 4, 1849. *Ibid.*

²⁹MS contract, dated Feb. 18, 1847, Boston Public Library.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹Childs to Griswold, Oct. 23, 1856, Nov. 22, 1856. MS, Boston Public Library.

³²Hooker to Griswold, Jan. 6, 1855. *Ibid.*

contacts that publishers valued. His influence grew rapidly from 1842, when he appears to have written notices for the *Boston Times*,³³ to 1847, when he was Boston correspondent of the *New York Literary World*,³⁴ and when, though a modest man, he wrote Griswold, "The truth is, from my connection with literary organs, I enjoy a great deal of power, which would make me a dangerous gentleman to abuse."³⁵ This power made him an irresistible object of the celebrated charms of James Fields, who saw to it that Whipple met, and remained in permanent social relations with, as many of Ticknor and Fields's authors as possible. It is not surprising that these were the subject of a majority of Whipple's unsigned reviews in *Graham's* between 1849 and 1853. But Fields used him in other ways as well. When young Bayard Taylor was beginning his work on the *Tribune*, Fields wrote him congratulations on his new volume of poems, published by Putnam, and said, ". . . look for my printed praises in some one of our Boston papers before the week is out. I am determined Whipple shall do you up brown and that you shall ride in a shiny coach made from the profits of Boston copies sold in our diggins."³⁶

There is no room here to discuss Whipple's later work in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Boston Transcript*, and the *Boston Globe*, but it is apparent that much of his forty years of critical work was the result of Fields's promotional activities. Whether his development as a critical thinker was enhanced by this relationship is another question, but Fields must take some of the blame for what Poe referred to as Whipple's "critical Boswellism."

Other informal methods which publishers used to build up good will are well illustrated by Fields's doings. His recognition of the importance, from the publisher's point of view, of breaking down sectional animosities is reflected in the following note to Taylor: "Did you see the other gossip of mine (in the *Transcript*) touching the literary men of New York? Was my mention of you

³³Epes Sargent to Whipple, Jan. 18, 1842. MS, Harvard College Library.

³⁴L. A. Peacock, "Edwin Percy Whipple" (Doctoral dissertation, Pennsylvania State College, 1942), pp. 42-46.

³⁵Griswold, *Correspondence*, p. 224.

³⁶Dec. 26, 1848. MS, Huntington Library.

agreeable or otherwise?"³⁷ In return for such favors, he was able to get publicity in New York, for Longfellow wrote in his journal in the same year, "Fields has written for some New York paper a sketch of 'what the Literary Men are doing in Boston,' one of the gossiping articles, which I do not much affect."³⁸ Just how much of this sort of thing he did is impossible to say, but one can assume that he was not referring merely to his ability as a poster hanger when he wrote Longfellow, in May, 1849, "No family of any respectability shall sleep unapprized of the publication of K[avanagh] on Saturday night. By this hour today New York is glittering with our new show cards. All Broadway at least is ornamented with the fact that Kavanagh is 'just published.'"³⁹ And a little later, "I am off in the morning for N. Y. where I hope to do a deed that will make a noise in our Bk. of Debits."⁴⁰

Another publicity method he developed was the publication in periodicals of selections from forthcoming books. He aimed to serve both publicity and good will when he asked Longfellow to send a chapter of *Kavanagh* to the *Literary World* for advance publication.⁴¹ He gave the same writer exact instructions about the set-up of the "Dedication" to *The Seaside and the Fireside in Graham's*,⁴² and in the *Boston Transcript*, whose editor, Epes Sargent, Fields said, "is always kind to 'our house.'"⁴³ Perhaps the kindness was that of one partner to another, for the *Transcript's* owners, Dutton and Wentworth, sometimes published books in collaboration with Ticknor and Fields.

Still another Fields specialty was winning the friendship of critics in other cities before their ability was generally recognized and rewarded. How he got the backing of powerful George William Curtis, a Harpers man, is suggested by the fact that in

³⁷Apr. 10, 1849. *Ibid.*

³⁸MS journal, Apr. 18, 1849, Craigie House.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Dec., 1849.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, March, 1849. Fields gave Whittier similar instructions, May 1, 1857. MS, Harvard College Library.

⁴²Nov., 1849. MS, Craigie House.

⁴³Nov., 1849. *Ibid.*

1854, when Curtis was an editor of *Putnam's* and had been newly appointed assistant for the Editor's Easy Chair in *Harper's Magazine*, Ticknor and Fields gave him a banquet in the company of Longfellow, Holmes, Whipple, and other literary lights.⁴⁴ It is possible to see a connection between this thoughtful gesture and a letter which Curtis wrote Fields not long afterwards: "Will you let me see an early proof of Longfellow's poem . . . that I may make a notice for Putnam . . . [The publishers] promise to get in an article I have made upon Tennyson and Maud [a Ticknor publication]. There ought to be in the October number at least a 'book notice' of *Hiawatha*."⁴⁵

Perhaps young Thomas Bailey Aldrich was amenable to Fields's blandishments because, as a reader for Derby and Jackson, and G. W. Carleton, he had the publisher's point of view. As junior literary critic of the *New York Evening Mirror* in 1855, he received copies of Fields's books with personal inscriptions, in return for which he sent such *billets doux* as the following: "I have access to every department of the 'Mirror' and if I can be of service to you in any way, please command me heart and pen."⁴⁶ In the same year he wrote from the office of the *New York Home Journal* that, as newly appointed subeditor, "I can do more for the books which you so considerately send me than hitherto."⁴⁷ Later, Aldrich was to edit two magazines published by the house.

Henry Mills Alden was still another critic and editor whose friendship Fields secured early. When Alden was a struggling hack writer in the early sixties, Fields, as editor of the *Atlantic*, accepted some of his articles and hired him to do book notices. But Alden's gratitude overflowed when Fields used his influence to procure for him the Lowell Institute Lectureship for 1863, which, as Alden wrote him, was "highly auspicious to myself and my future prospects as a worker and thinker on this earth."⁴⁸ This event paid off in both directions, for that same year Alden

⁴⁴Griswold, *Correspondence*, p. 293.

⁴⁵Aug. 24, 1855. MS, Huntington Library.

⁴⁶Mar. 11, 1856. *Ibid.*

⁴⁷Sept. 13, 1856. *Ibid.*

⁴⁸Jan. 10, 1863. *Ibid.*

became managing editor of *Harper's Weekly*, where he was in a position to place reviews which he wrote of Ticknor and Fields books.

Rather more independent was Richard Grant White, critic on the staff of the *New York Courier*, who wrote in 1858 that if his projected weekly literary paper should come into being, "books and things will be talked about in it I hope in a way that you will like—that is unless Ticknor and Fields take to publishing very poor books."⁴⁹

In their printed reminiscences, James and Annie Fields have presented a picture of famous friendships with Hawthorne, Dickens, Thackeray, and other literary notables; but a reading of Fields's private correspondence shows that, from the point of view of the publisher, these connections were window-dressing compared to the vital relationships which Fields built up in the world of critics, editors, and reviewers. In his almost pathetic effort to make himself remembered as a writer, lecturer, and patron of authors, he succeeded only in looking like a glorified autograph hunter. In doing so he concealed his real talent as a publisher, which was his amazing ability to secure the good will of young men who later turned out to be molders of public taste. The list is impressive: Whipple, Griswold, Aldrich, Lowell, Curtis, Alden, Taylor, White, not to mention "Grace Greenwood," whose occasional literary comments in her fluffy "columns" had the same kind of publicity value as the late Alexander Woolcott's book plugs.

Incidentally, it is worth noting at this point that in the light of the facts here presented, the numerous recent studies of the contemporary reputation of American writers are subject to careful scrutiny. To attempt to estimate Melville's reputation, for example, by counting up favorable reviews is simply naïve. Melville himself was well aware of the value of such evidence, for he had the far more realistic figures of Harper's accounting office to tell him how popular he was with readers.

The last chapter of this cheerful story is sour but prophetic.

⁴⁹Aug. 25, 1858. *Ibid.*

In 1855 a loud explosion blew up the cozy nest into which publishers and newspaper critics had settled, and, amusingly enough, it was a *faux pas* by the normally tactful Fields that ignited the fuse. But the dynamite was advertising.

Since the early forties the advertising of books in newspapers had increased enormously. A casual examination of some of the large metropolitan dailies in the middle fifties shows that books were one of the products most advertised, and that they were given relatively more space than in the modern newspaper. This was true also of reviews and notices. Moreover, it is evidence of the nationalization of publishing that many, frequently most, of the advertisements came from publishers in other cities. Needless to say, there was a perceptible relation between advertisements and reviews. The "Silent Bargain," as Bliss Perry called it, had become an institution.

On November 13, 1855, the *Boston Daily Evening Traveller* printed a notice of Longfellow's newly published *Hiawatha*, which, though respectful to the poet's reputation and ability, ended with this passage:

We cannot but express a regret that our own pet national poet should not have selected as the theme of his muse something higher and better than the silly legends of the savage aborigines. His poem does not awaken one single sympathetic throb; it does not teach a single truth; and rendered into prose, *Hiawatha* would be a mass of the most childish nonsense that ever dropped from human pen. In verse it contains nothing so precious as the golden time which will be lost in reading it.

Three days later, the *Traveller* printed an article headed "Attempt to Coerce the Press." After stating their pride in the independence yet kindness of their book notices, the editors printed the following letter, dated November 13, and signed by Ticknor and Fields:

Dear Sirs—From the above extract from a notice of one of our publications in this evening's *Traveller*, we presume that your Editors care very little for our personal feelings as publishers or our friendly regard in any way. So marked and complete a depreciation of our

book is, to say the least, uncalled for. You will please send in your bill of all charges against us, and in future we will not trouble you with our publications or the advertisements of them. You will please also stop the paper.

The editors' concluding comment was,

They may deceive themselves if they hope to defeat criticism by withholding their publications from us . . . We shall find no difficulty probably in procuring copies of such of their works as may be worthy of criticism.

Fields should have known better, of course, but he was not used to such treatment. In fact, he was downright spoiled. Evidently his friend Griswold had not told him that three years earlier the same scrappy editors had refused to reveal the authorship of an unfavorable notice of a book in which Griswold was interested.⁵⁰ On the other hand, it is unlikely that the *Traveller* had the belligerence of ten because its heart was pure. Its columns, from October 31 to November 13, show that Ticknor and Fields advertisements were few and small; in fact, they had been channelizing their ads a little too pointedly, for the bulk of their space was taken up by five insertions of a two-and-one-half-inch advertisement of *Hiawatha*. Certainly they made a poor showing in the counting-room, compared to Crosby, Nichols; Phillips, Sampson; Appleton; and Harpers.

The publishing world hastened to respond to the *Traveller's* deed. On December 1 the *American Publishers' Circular* countered with a rejoinder written by a man who turned out later to be one Mason, of Mason Brothers, New York publishers. The writer admitted, for the sake of argument, that publishers, anxious to get good notices, may take "objectionable means" to procure them:

in other words, that they pay, directly or indirectly, a pecuniary consideration therefor. They have a right to expect able and impartial criticism. If then they seek to bribe the press . . . it is from necessity, not choice . . . As a whole the press is not only susceptible to pecuniary influences in its book criticisms, but openly so; it is not only willing but anxious to be bribed. 'Give us advertisements and we will

⁵⁰Andrews and Punchard to Griswold, May 24, 1852. MS, Boston Public Library.

give you good notices' is a proposition made every day to publishers . . . It is a common thing for an editor to refuse to notice a book at all, because it is not advertised in his columns. Again, critics occupying important positions are plainly seen to be influenced in their published opinions . . . In some cases, the manner of doing the thing properly is simply to enclose five dollars to the critic without word or comment. In other cases, more delicacy must be used, and the critic may be salaried by the publisher as manuscript reader, or in some other capacity.

The juicy tidbit about critics salaried as publishers' readers referred, of course, to George Ripley of the *Tribune* and Harpers, and on December 12, Francis Underwood, of Phillips, Sampson and Company, spiced it up in the *Boston Atlas*, over the signature of "Upsilon."

If [said Upsilon, cattily] the literary editor of a paper so able and widely known as the New York Tribune, were "salaried as manuscript reader" by one or more prominent publishers in that city, what value would the world at large attach to his judgment of books? . . . In such circumstances, impartiality is out of the question. The critic *must* remember the hand that feeds him . . . It is time, if such be the case, that these disguises were stripped off, so that the confidence of readers and fair-dealing publishers may be no longer abused.

This was too much for the *Tribune*. Even before he had seen Upsilon's article, Greeley, who was a slightly soiled St. George, in view of his earlier proficiency as a logroller, growled, in the issue of December 12,

We can say that [Mason Brothers] have made repeated efforts to control our columns for their own purposes, and have been repeatedly disappointed. Extensive advertising has failed to secure the admission of notices of their books prepared by their own writers, to obtain for them any more favorable reviews than their intrinsic merits would justify. Some of these disappointments have been the occasion of anger privately manifested.

Coming back to the subject of publishers' readers the next day, the *Tribune* put up a convincing defense of the hurt and bewildered Ripley, asserting that the jobs of reader and critic were

compatible because "the fact that a gentleman has long been trusted in such capacity by any publishing house able to select and to pay for its literary employees, must therefore be highly favorable to the reputation of that gentleman for integrity, independence, and soundness of judgment."

On December 15 the *Tribune* turned its attention to Underwood, declaring that he had repeatedly sought the use of its columns; that just before his company published *Modern Pilgrims*, a "stupid book," Underwood had visited the *Tribune* offices in a friendly way, and that he was now angry because the book had been thoroughly castigated. Underwood, the *Tribune* summed up amiably, is a "small and unclean insect." But "while our hand is engaged . . . we will also hang up another better-known person of the same class," who has encouraged the attitudes of Mason and Underwood—Rufus Griswold—"a person so notorious in this community that to trace a calumny to him suffices effectually to dispose of it."

A few days later (December 19) Underwood got revenge by printing in the *Atlas* specific details about Ripley: that he was paid \$1,200 a year by Harpers, and \$800 by J. C. Derby. Underwood's concluding statements have all the earmarks of culpability:

Very few people go through the world without committing some folly or absurdity, or worse perhaps. And if nothing more can be urged against me than having once accepted a courtesy from a man who afterwards proved himself so little of a gentleman, [etc.].

As tempers cooled down somewhat, the belligerents became rather more philosophical and constructive in their discussion of what was, after all, a situation that needed cleaning up for the good of all concerned. The *Tribune* (December 26) got at one aspect of the problem by revealing that publishing had expanded so enormously that no paper had room for notices of all books, and it pointed out that already specialization had begun, in that the *Tribune* stressed works relating to "progressive ideas and popular reforms," the *Courier*, "elegant literature," the *Evangelist* and the *Independent*, theology. As to critics who held other jobs,

the *Tribune* admitted that because newspaper work was poor pay, all employees had to fill in with other work.

As to the aftermath of the fracas, Longfellow apparently was shocked into silence by Fields's indiscretion, for no word of the event appears in his letters or private journals. Ripley, in a steaming letter to Theodore Parker, refused to be reconciled with the perfidious Underwood, whom he called the "sneakingest and nastiest of men."⁵¹ Griswold, writing sadly to Fields, denied having given occasion for such "wanton and malevolent libel."⁵² Fields, who had the sense to keep quiet after his initial blunder, suffered less than these bystanders, for Ticknor and Fields were hardly mentioned in the squabble. Fields's New York friendships now paid dividends, for Richard Grant White wrote him, "I sent you a paper in which I handled the matter you stirred up . . . The other journals have followed my lead as you see: it will divert attention from you." Then, unable to resist the temptation, he nuzzled Mason's jibe into Fields's ribs: "I shall write quite a notice of [your edition of Browning] and very favorable; but none of your five dollar bribes if you please: I do nothing for less than fifty."⁵³

In perspective, this tempest was a sign that though newspaper and book publishing had both become large industries by 1855, neither had faced realistically its relation to the other. Though publishers provided a sizable proportion of newspaper advertising, the papers had failed to realize the news value of competent and responsible book reporting. The publisher, on the other hand, having failed to develop publicity as a legitimate business technique, tried to keep up the pretense that reviews were the uninfluenced opinions of critics working in the interest of the public. The solution still lay far in the future. For the newspaper it was to depend upon the establishment of a regular literary department, under responsible management, with signed reviews, book-note columns, and lists of new publications. For the publisher, it called for proper selection of advertising media, the newspaper to be used only for those works which had a general or topical appeal.

⁵¹Mar. 28, 1856. MS, Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁵²Dec. 22, 1855. MS, Huntington Library.

⁵³Dec. 13, 1855. *Ibid.*

Able though Fields was, conditions were no longer such that one man could handle the multifarious needs of publicity by the personal approach. It is significant that after 1855 there is less and less evidence that Fields bothered with the writing and placing of reviews; he concentrated, instead, on building up the general reputation of his group of stars,⁵⁴ whose devotion to him is evidence that he had their interests at heart as well as those of his firm. By the time he retired in 1871, Ticknor and Fields publications had become the core of the American canon of classics. His later career, including his editorship of the *Atlantic*, still remains to be studied; but it is probably a good guess that if some of the New England writers enjoyed, in the latter part of the century, a reputation beyond their deserts, it was in part due to the behind-the-scenes activities of James T. Fields, public relations counsel.

⁵⁴That Fields, during the later years of the firm's history, had a fund for "entertainment" purposes is suggested by the articles of agreement governing the company (beginning in 1864), in which he is allowed "the sum of *One Thousand Dollars* per annum as consideration for his personal services . . . to be charged to the expense account of the firm." Information from Professor W. S. Tryon of Simmons College, who is writing a history of the firm of Ticknor and Fields.

Notes and Documents

Yankee Preacher-Teacher in Florida, 1838

AT THE time of annexation to the United States, Florida was a vast, unexplored country with a small and scattered population. There were only two towns of any consequence, St. Augustine and Pensacola. The site of the Territory's future capital, Tallahassee, midway between, was a wilderness inhabited only by Indians and occasional runaway Negroes.

After the change of flags in 1821, settlers began pouring in: the last great wave of emigration before the tide turned westward. The largest group of colonists came to Middle Florida. They were chiefly from Virginia and the Carolinas, and brought into the country the traditions of the planter class. As soon as the Indians had been moved out the newcomers established themselves in the fertile uplands, about thirty miles inland from the head of Apalachee Bay. Here they built the town of Tallahassee, which was to be not only the seat of government, but the center of culture and polite society for the whole community.

The system of education transplanted into Florida was peculiar to the old South. A heritage from colonial times, it had remained virtually unchanged for generations, and followed a fairly consistent pattern: on the plantations of the well-to-do, resident tutors were employed, and in the towns children attended private elementary schools and academies; young ladies were sent to female seminaries, and young gentlemen "went off" to college. The small farmer either pressed into service some member of the family group as teacher, or shared with his neighbors the expense of a hired schoolmaster. Poor whites and squatters, as a matter of course, got along without formal schooling.

Whether on the plantation or in the town, the schoolmaster was the mainstay of the whole ante-bellum educational structure. An

unsung hero, he labored without recognition then, and is recalled now only in the reflected luster of those persons whom he had the honor to serve. More often that not, he was an impecunious minister or divinity student imported from somewhere "up North," Now and then an enterprising young man, perhaps from Harvard or Yale, not of the cloth, would try tutoring for a year or two, in order to earn enough to continue his studies, but the great majority of teachers were drawn from the clergy. Thus religion and education went hand in hand, a happy combination of professions that helped to swell the contents of many a Yankee parson's purse.

In 1825 the first of these preacher-teachers arrived in Florida, and during the next five years they came in steadily increasing numbers. By this time Tallahassee, with a population of close to a thousand inhabitants, boasted two boarding schools and the Leon Academy. The Academy had been organized by the Reverend Henry White, A. M., sometime before the ninth of March, 1827, on which date its first advertisement in the public press carried the following appeal: "It is the design of the Principal that this institution become permanent if suitable encouragement be given." That this encouragement was forthcoming is self-evident, for the Academy flourished during several decades thereafter, and was recognized as the principal educational institution of the period.¹

Like many schools of its kind in the early days, the Leon Academy suffered from a rapid turnover in the personnel of its faculty. Masters came and went in quick succession. Some of them have left their impress upon the contemporary records; others have survived only in occasional obscure references; while the rank and file have been long forgotten. Two recently discovered letters, now printed for the first time, serve to add one more name to the roster of Leon masters.² All we know of the Reverend O. T. Hammond is

¹James O. Knauss, "Education in Florida, 1821-29," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, III (4) 22-35.

²These letters are in the correspondence of Charles Henry Ray (1821-70) recently given to the Library by his daughter, Mrs. James P. Andrews, of Hartford, Connecticut.

what he himself has written in these letters addressed to a former pupil and fellow-townsmen of Norwich, Chenango County, New York.

NORMA B. CUTHBERT

To Charles Henry Ray³

Tallahassee, June 20, 1838

Dear Charles:

A Mr. Gee of Florida requests me to procure him a teacher, & knowing of no one so well adapted to southern people as yourself, who has requested me to make inquiry—by the way, I have several letters from students in Yale Coll. who are very anxious for me to intercede for them, but the *real* tried affection you have ever manifested for me, the fact of your being my pupil & the intimate of the Doctor, will be sufficient apology for my preference.

Terms. They (there are three families, 12 *Scholars*, one of the men is a Methodist parson) will bear all your expenses from Norwich to Florida; board, washing, fuel &c. &c. while in their employ, & give you \$400.00 for the first year—if you do well, and all are pleased, they will give much more the next—the pupils are young, probably quite backward; They are rich, Mr. G. is worth \$100,000. the other \$50,000 & has 125 slaves. The families are called polite & popular, & you would find much more attention than you see in N. The slaves are very much pleased when they can do a white man a kindness. Mr. C.⁴ with whom we live, tells me that all are respect[ible] & would without doubt make you happy. You will have time for study as twelve pupils will not engage all your time. They wish you immediately; & you can find vessels sailing from N. Y. to St. Marks almost every 2 weeks. St. Marks is the port of Tallahassee.

Should you conclude to accept the proposal you will not need to write, but come on—there is no possible failure on their part—they are bankers & money is ready.⁵ Keep an accurate account of all you

³Charles Henry Ray, physician and journalist, was born in Norwich, New York, in 1821. He was one of Greeley's young men who went west, settling in Illinois in 1850. Four years later he gave up the practice of medicine, and, with John C. Vaughan and Joseph Medill, bought a controlling interest in the *Chicago Tribune*. One of the key men in the early days of the Republican Party, he helped to shape national policy. In 1867 he became managing editor of the *Chicago Evening Post*, and remained with that paper until his death in 1870.

⁴Thomas Peter Chaires (?).

⁵Following the opening of the [Union] bank, January 16, 1835, there was a veritable orgy of speculation and get-rich-quick activities in the counties around Tallahassee. Before long, irregularities of practice appeared, which were unsatisfactorily explained by the officials. . . . By 1838 all three institutions [the Union

spend for fare, board while detained in New York, should you be, & fare to St. Marks which is \$50.00. You can come & stay one year, go back by land and save 300. if you wish to remain no longer. I have never been as healthy as I am now nor has Mrs. H—people may live here and enjoy good health if they are *prudent*, it is sickly, but sickness prevails among those who are exposed to night air, & rain; the intemperate die very soon. The people who are prudent are generally well. If I was in N. & wished to come here I would have no fears about leaving *now*: Mr. Gee lives in one of the most healthy sections of Fla.—high piny woods—and this country is strangely cut up into spots, some places are remarkably healthy, while others in a few miles are fatal to white population.

You can make a fortune here among the black-eyed Southern lasses—excuse this *lapsus femme*. You will be only 20 miles from me; & I shall think much of your Company. If I was Charles I would venture. Tell Dr. Meade that I have had the pleasure of joining Mr. Hort [Hart ?] to a young girl, & she will make a good mother for him; the people expect him here in autumn. Tell him too that I am afraid that I shall be disappointed in my proposed v— —e!!⁶ An opening is offered most to[o] flattering to refuse. He had better come on with you

If you come leave N. soon, you will need 100. if you pay passage, this they will refund to you as soon as you arrive. Keep an account of all you spend. In New York, I would advise you to call on Rev. Luther Crawford, Clinton Hall, I think he will board you, while you may stay; he is a gentleman, & will be of service to you. I boarded with him while there, & a better man I never saw. He is at the head of the A[merican] H[ome] M[issionary] S[ociety] Find a vessel as soon as possible & choose your birth, take on a peck of lemons & loaf sugar, for the water will be bad: eat nothing but gruel when sick, & keep on deck as long as possible—buy a life preserver. At Tallahassee enquire for Tom P. Chaires & there you will find those glad to see you.

Bring clothes enough to last a year—thin coats and small clothes, woolen rappers you must wear all summer—but little use for cloaks—

Bank of Tallahassee, the Bank of Pensacola, and the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company] were in such precarious condition that the territory confronted a situation it had never expected to face—the payment of defaulted interest on the faith bonds and guarantee of the principal. . . . By the time Florida entered the Union in 1845, no banks were in operation, and the whole financial structure of the state had to be done over.” Kathryn T. Abbey, *Florida, Land of Change* (1941), pp. 196, 198.

⁶Hammond's abbreviation for the word “voyage.”

rubbers & umbrella think of. Everything is dear in T. Bring what books you will need for one year. You need not fear to come now on account of climate, you will go to a healthy section. Buy a thermometer in N. Y. Call at N. Y. P. O. you may find letters there, don't fail also to call on Mr. Crawford. Write to me on reception of this, tell how soon you will come, write again in N. Y. the day of sailing.

You had better come I *guess*—if you say I *guess* at the South they will call you a *Yankee* at *once*; *we Southerners* [say] I reckon.

Remember us to you[r] very worthy parents

Yours most certainly

O. T. Hammond

Tallahassee Sept. 30. '38
Sabbath evening 8. P. M.

Dear Charles.

You have read much of the fascinating beauty of Italian evenings, but we have moon light nights in Florida which are as charming as ever Dante or Petrarck saw—this is one of them. Nothing can be more lovely, the winds are asleep—the clouds have sailed away—the elements are at rest—not a withered leaf flutters—all is hushed in the bosom of deep repose. The negroes are well nigh splitting their throats with singing—better voices you never heard—they make the pine woods ring with their boisterous songs; now & then an owl adds a base note, which would c[h]ord well, did not his hooting companions burst out into a laugh:

Mond. evening.

————— “jolly owls
Who all night blow their horn.”

There! an old fellow has just shouted among the jungles—still the negroes tune their notes—they are happy—no care, no sorrow—enough to eat—why should they complain?

This is a great country for the entomologist—we have aptera & diptera; coleoptera and all the other *teras* found in the wide world. We are compelled to study the nature of the bugs & flies, they are very insinuating. First there is the cock roach (*Blatt[in]a gigantea* or *Americana*) these disgusting creatures take the liberty to guard your ward-robbs, your papers, they stand sentinels behind all your furniture, & if they happen to fall into ink or seek refuge in the folds of your clothing, a powerful sensation is produced upon the olfactory nerve. Then there is the flea, that most industerious animal, so valuable as a preventitive to sleep, whose touch leaves a deep crimson, so much admired by the ladies; there is the musquitoe, who serenades you with his little horn the live long night, you seek a refuge under

your pavillion, still the industerious insect probes his way & then buries his proboscis in your heated flesh. O it is irksome, to pass one's nights cooped up when you long for evry breath of air. Then we have the *red bug* socalled, a microscopic insect, which is very troublesome, plunging into your flesh, & producing a serious swelling, ten millions of them may be found on the wild fowl.—I must not forget to mention the troops of ants, which infest the sweets of the house-wife. Our cupboard legs are set in tin cups of water, through which the little creature is unable to sail—Nor must I pass over the stinging scorpion, that revengeful & dangerous house servant; sometimes he has the impudence to follow you to bed, where you are quite sure to feel his poisonous sword, still the scorpions of Florida are not so dangerous as those of Africa. I could not be guilty of a want of so much respect to the famed chameleon as to pass him entirely by—all you have read of his varied colours is strictly true, if he is on a green leaf, he is green, if on a red one, he is red—how much instinct; he wishes to evade your gaze.—Of humbugs I might say much, there are many species—some very worthy of attention—the wisdom of God is plainly shewn in all their movements—the tumble bug (*Atenchus*) is of immense service in this climate, the offings of man & beast are immediately carried into the earth, all miasmatic matter of an animal nature is drawn into the earth by these pretty, bright coloured, yet most filthy insects. I might fill a volume with entomological disquisitions, & in fact as soon as I can get Kerby's & Spence's work⁷ with 2 or three others, I shall commence a history & a classification of all the insects found in this part of Florida.

Friday 12 of Oct. 8. P. M.

Again I commence my epistolary yarn which unravels very slow; be patient, I shall come to an end soon. I have been very much engaged in my official duties since my last date. this is the sickly season, & I am the only clergyman in the city to inter the dead. On Thursday last I went in to attend the obsequies of a rich lady—on my way home I called on the most wealthy planter in all the southern country,—he was dying! He was compelled to leave his vast possessions (\$1,500,000.) "My property" said the dying man "is but filthy rags"—. He owned several hundred negros who were much attached to him. Several slaves who had seen near one hundred years, were much affected, in fact I never saw a more solemn audience—all night they were coming in from the contiguous plantations; such bursts of grief! such real sorrow! such strong attachment! I never saw before. The halls were crowded—several absolutely refused to leave the corpse, & never lost sight of their master until he was in the grave. When the coffin was

⁷William Kirby and William Spence, *An Introduction to Entomology* (London, 1815-26).

deposited in the earth each slave took a handful of earth & threw it upon the coffin which was soon covered with the dirt they had thrown in. It was a solemn scene! Not a dry eye— 20 or 30 of the negroes were originally from Congo; I could but remark one who had been a chief in his Country, he was revered by all—has never been compelled to labour; he followed his master to the grave on a mule which he managed with much grace among his sable brethren who were compelled to attend to his orders. The women were dressed in fanciful calico or black silk, white turbans—generally a profusion of ribbons—the men were clad in woolen coats or white sailors fur or palmetto hats; many *very many* slaves dress as well as their masters on Sunday.

The slaves are much better off than most people north of the Potomac imagine—true, they are slaves! deprived of freedom—but they are generally happy—they do not work hard, the tasks are light—I could do as much as two are required to do. When sick, they have medical attendance—when hungry they are fed—all have two good & full suits per anno besides their Sunday clothes. They have their cups & saucers—dishes—the negro has more of the delicacies of life than many of your canal Irish, nay, they are better fed than many of the N. E. girls connected with the manufacturing establishments. They are allowed to keep fowls—raise corn & cotton for themselves, which they convert into money. There are some cruel masters! nor can it be wondered at—Have you not cruel fathers in N. Y.? A cruel master is soon put down by public opinion. Nor are there as many *fancy negroes*, mulattoes & quadroons as you northern people imagine—I have seen some as white as [*illegible*] but such evidences of amalgamation are not common.

That slavery has evils, no candid man will deny—to call it an institution of heaven is preposterous—but what shall we do? Set them free immediately? It cannot be done with safety—. Transport them? Where is the money;—the ships;—? Look at the British West Indies—the negroes will not work without high wages, the plantations are consequently ruined. What have the anti-slavery societies done for the black man? How many have they freed? They have bound the chains closer—they have made the southern people very jealous—they have stopt all manumissions which were very common before. They have put a stop to the black schools in Charleston & Savannah—they have sown the seeds, I fear, of a civil war. — No doubt but what most of them, I am too fast, many of the leaders are good men. Finally I am thoroughly convinced that the abolitionists are the indirect means of cruel treatment.

Apropos—Prince Murat,⁸ nephew of Napoleon, whose plantation

⁸Achille Murat, born in Paris in 1801, was the son of Joachim and Caroline

is but a short distance from me, received a bundle of cuts from the anti-slavery office, representing the master with a lash beating negro—some were manacled, some in the stocks, some being whipt in a state of nudity. Murat called all his negroes up, shewed them the cuts—“Now go right—the northern people tell us to whip you after this fashion—& what do you think of such people?” “*Debils—debils, massa*”⁹

Comment vous portez-vous Monsieur? “I am becoming quite a son of France under the tuition of a scholar from the Sorbonne who was an aid of Napoleon. he came here to sell some lands of Lafayette’s¹⁰—I shall soon be able to speak well—I am also finishing my translation of Virgil, 100 lines per diem—take much pains—I commenced German, but my teacher was a Savoyard—his pronunciation was defective, as soon as I get through the swamp of verbs & speak, I design to commence the German again with a student of Berlin who is now in Tallahassee. I am very anxious to master these Keys to a world of scientific research. I have opened a correspondence direct with a book-

(Bonaparte) Murat. In 1808, when Achille was seven years old, Napoleon placed his father on the throne of the kingdom of Naples, and the boy became crown prince. After the battle of Tolentino (May 3, 1815), Joachim was overthrown, and for years the family moved from place to place. Finally, in 1823, “Prince Murat” emigrated to the United States, was naturalized, and settled in Florida near the town of Tallahassee. He married a great-grandniece of George Washington, and played an active part in the life of the community; he was the author of books and articles about his adopted country. He died in Florida in 1847.

⁹“A well regulated plantation is truly a most interesting spectacle; all prospers, and is governed in the most perfect order. Each negro has a house, and the houses are generally built in regular lines; he has his own poultry and pigs; cultivates his vegetables, and sells them at the market. At sun-rise the sound of the horn calls him to labor, while each has his allotted task in proportion to his physical strength. In general the task is finished between three and four o’clock in the afternoon, allowing him ample time for dinner about noon. The task over, no further service is required of him; he either cultivates his garden, hires himself to his master for extra labor, or takes a stroll to visit his wife or mistress on some adjoining plantation. On Sundays he attires himself in his holiday suit and goes to receive his weekly allowances, and employs the remainder of the day as it may please him. The duty of the manager is to give each his morning task, and in the evening to see that it is properly done; while the proprietor mounts his horse, makes a tour in the plantation and gives the necessary orders. All these are performed with the regularity of regimental duty; and I have myself seen six months pass without one word of censure being called for.” Achille Murat, *America and the Americans* (1849), pp. 80-81.

¹⁰Upon the occasion of Lafayette’s visit to the United States in 1824, Congress voted him a gift of \$200,000 and a township of land. The land selected was in Middle Florida, and lay on the eastern boundary of the town of Tallahassee.

seller in Halle where I am supplied with semi-annual catalogues with prices marked, I can get not only German but French works. Duties on Greek & Latin works are heavy 16 cents per lb.—4 cents per vol. for Ger. French, & Italian & Spanish. Prince Murat has a *noble* library to which I can have free ingress & egress.

Willingly would I have wept on the reception of your letter—tears were at hand—but all was vain. My dear Charles was not to strike hands with me [in] this land of strangers. *Sic est*. I remembered the [words] of the Prop[h]etess to the shade of Palinurus:

“*Desine fata Deum flecti sperare precando*”

I was more than anxious to see you—I was confident that you would make [out] well—good teachers demand any wages here when they are Known to be such. I am offered \$100 per anno and expenses to teach a school for boys when my term expires in the academy—\$100 per anno for *EACH PUPIL*. School teachers are in great demand—20 might find lucrative employment in *family schools*. We never teach Saturdays. They pay well here for marrying—I am to splice a member of the legislature in a few days who is a rich planter.

I wish you would say to Pellet that I have money in waiting for him which I will send when we have northern exchange—the President of the bank¹¹ is expected from Eng. in a few weeks when full arraignments will be made—it will be difficult if not impossible for me to send a draft for what I owe Pellet to him direct, but I can leave money with my agent in New York & direct him to pay the note when presented ask him if this will answer; this will be the safest and most expeditious manner of adjusting the matter, Bennett & Bright & Mr. Brayton in answer to letters which I wrote them have agreed to receive their dues from New York. If I was to send P[ellet] Florida money he would not accept it—. Write me on the matter.

Dr. Meade; good soul! I have just received a letter from him—had he written me an answer to my letter it would have influenced my plans very much—we are making all our arraignments to study in Europe—Prof. Sears writes me—“go by all means”—cost him only \$1000 for more than 2 years. as cheap in Paris as Norwich. A lady who lives near me, is expected soon from Paris. I shall learn much from her.

How do you get [*illegible*] pills? Do you still keep up the classics? Study Virgil—study Cicero. I just begin to see the beauties of the old Romans—in Greek I move slow—I find time here for study 2 nfiles from any house—glorious retirement! I hold converse with the venerable dead!!

¹¹John G. Gamble was president of the Union Bank of Tallahassee.

My son! do give me a letter like this—as fine—as long—as *much*. Give me none of your blank sheets—see what *you CAN do for once!!!* Where is Germain? Peter? the Irishman—Miss Read—& all the folks. How is Garvin getting along? Where is Bill [*illegible*]? Baldwin the teacher? Send me now & then a Journal or Telegraph—How does old Swan come on? Is he in P? Tell the whole story. If I could dip my pen in my heart, I would tell you how much I loved a few in your city of the brave. I have a long, long story for the Dr. & Hamey! Those fellows I love—The Dr. is a whole soul—great man in a little body! I mistrust, “guess”—“reckon”—that he is setting his net for a great “Hall”—we may then look for a new edition of his works!!

How is little George? Where is James Milnor? Your dear parents I cannot forget: present them with the compliments of one who will ever be mindful of their sympathies in a day of adversity—I must wind up—morning is near—Mrs. H[ammond] is snoring on one side & her little negress on the other—the plantation is wrapt in the mantle of repose—mercury 59—very cool for Oct. barometer 30.00—wind N. E. Tell my dear Doctor that he may look for a manuscript in 10 days— & he may commence a mammoth sheet in answer. Tell me about the weather; new books; mercantile business; schools; snow & mud; marriages; births; a social newspaper if you please; the Dr’s letter was like an acorn to a starving man—P. S. Seminole war (we hope) near an end,¹² chiefs have given up!! I can draw a longer breath in these impervious jungles:

Bonne nuit Charles,
From your friend
O. T. Hammond

¹²“Although the war lasted longer [final cessation of hostilities was proclaimed Aug. 14, 1842], the developing Middle Florida had little reason to fear depredations after 1837.” James O. Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism* (1926), p. 11 n.

An Unpublished War Letter of General William T. Sherman

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN had won the two stars of a major general on May 1, 1862, only a short three and one-half months before he wrote the following long war letter to his brother John, Congressman from Ohio, at Washington. Research has not disclosed any mention of the letter in the various biographies of Sherman except in the excellent work by Lloyd Lewis entitled *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* (1932). Mr. Lewis quotes a small portion from it (p. 248), but his excerpt does not quite agree with the original. The letter books at the Library of Congress and the Wisconsin State Historical Society do not contain copies of the letter; consequently the source of Mr. Lewis' transcript remains a mystery. In the collection edited by Rachel Sherman Thorndike, entitled *The Sherman Letters* (1894), this letter is omitted, although the reply by John Sherman is included.

The short note by John Sherman makes it possible to trace the wanderings of General Sherman's letter from the time it left Memphis, Tennessee, in 1862, until it was presented to the Huntington Library in 1942. This note may also explain why it has not been included in any published collection of Sherman letters. John Sherman gave the original, as his own words indicate, to Major Andrew J. Williams in 1865; Major Williams later presented it to his grandson, the late Edwin B. Janes of Beverly Hills, who gave it to the Huntington Library.

In both transcripts, punctuation, capitalization, and spelling have been modified to agree with present-day usage.

[Major Andrew J. Williams] Mansfield, O[hio], Oct. 23, [18]65
My dear sir:

Your note of the eighteenth is received. I had heard that Kellogg and Northway were against me, but am glad to hear favorably from all other parts of the reserve.

I have hastily hunted you an autograph letter of Gen[eral] S[her-

man] and this I must caution you against allowing to be published. Our intercourse is so free that I ought not to make public what he writes me. I have erased one sentence.

Very truly yours,
John Sherman

The fortunes of war were not going well for the Union when General Sherman wrote his brother in August, 1862. In the East, McClellan's and Pope's campaigns had been a failure, and Lincoln was beginning to cast about for a new man to lead the Army of the Potomac. In the West, affairs were a little brighter. Grant and Sherman had won an indecisive victory at Shiloh in April, 1862, and were now restoring and resting their armies after that bloody struggle. Major General Halleck, supreme commander in the West, had been recalled to Washington, and the other western commanders acting independently could not agree on a definite plan of campaign. Farragut, in the South, had taken New Orleans but was unable to gain permanent control of the Mississippi River above that city.

On nearly all fronts, then, the war had reached a stalemate with whatever advantage there was on the side of the Confederacy. The northern armies were still far too small to accomplish the huge tasks before them. Desertions, short-term enlistments, and sickness were depleting the ranks almost as fast as the new levies were building them up. Incompetent officers commanded men in battle because of the scarcity of good men. Profiteering, high prices, and draft riots kept the home front in a turmoil. Politicians and southern sympathizers impeded the conduct of the war by their interference with army plans or out-and-out revelation of military secrets.

Of all the men in responsible positions in the North, probably no one knew better the huge tasks confronting the Union armies than General Sherman. His whole viewpoint as revealed in this frank letter to his brother was pessimistic. Small wonder that John Sherman did not permit the publication of any of his brother's letters during the war!

Sherman's methods of waging war seem, at first glance, extreme,

but in practice the civilian population was treated very fairly. His remarks on colonizing and settling the country as the army went south were probably due in great part to the exasperation of waging war against unorganized guerrilla bands.

The deleted sentence near the end of the letter refers to the poor quality of some of the officers from Ohio. It was crossed out by John Sherman, as the letter to Major Williams indicates. The passage cannot be completely deciphered.

CAREY S. BLISS

Memphis, Aug. 13, 1862

My dear brother:

I have not written to you for so long a time that I suppose you think I have dropped the correspondence. For six weeks I was marching along the road from Corinth to Memphis, mending road[s], building bridges and all sorts of work. At last I got here and found the city contributing gold, arms, powder, salt, and anything the enemy wanted. It was a smart trick on their part thus to give up Memphis, that the desire of gain to our northern merchants should supply them with the things needed in war. I stopped this at once, and declared gold, silver, treasury notes, and salt as much contraband of war as powder, lead, etc. I have one man under sentence of death for smuggling arms across the lines and hope Mr. Lincoln will approve it; but the mercenary spirit of our people is too much, and my orders are reversed, and I am ordered to encourage the trade in cotton, and all orders prohibiting gold, silver, or notes to be paid for it are annulled by orders from Washington. Grant promptly ratified my order, and all military men here saw at once that the gold spent for cotton went for the purchases of arms and munitions of war. But what are the lives of our soldiers to the profits of the merchants?

After a whole year of bungling, the country has at last discovered that we want more men. All knew it last fall as well as now, but it was not popular. Now 13,000,000¹ men are required, when 700,000 was deemed absurd before. It will take time to work up these raw recruits, and they will reach us in October when we should be at Jackson, Meridian, or Vicksburg. Still I must not growl. I have purposely kept back and have no right to criticise, save that I am glad the people have at last found out we are at war and have a formidable enemy to combat. Of course I approve the Confiscation Act and would

¹Sherman would seem to have added another naught to this number by mistake.

be willing to revolutionize the government so as to amend that article of the Constitution which forbids the forfeiture of land to the heirs. My full belief is, we must colonize the country *de novo*, beginning with Kentucky and Tennessee, and should remove four millions of our people at once south of the Ohio River, taking the farms and plantations of rebels. I deplore the war as much as ever, but if a thing has to be done, let the means be adequate.

Don't expect to overrun such a country or subdue such a people in one, two, or five years; it is the task of half a century. Although our army is thus far south we cannot stir from our garrisons. Our men are killed or captured within sight of our lines.

I have two divisions here, mine and Hurlbut's, about 13,000 men, am building a strong fort, and think this is to be one of the depots and bases of operations for future movements. The loss of Halleck² is to us almost fatal. We have no one else to replace him. Instead of having one head, we have five or six, all independent of each other. I expect our enemies will mass their troops and fall upon our detachments before the new reinforcements come. I cannot learn that there are any large bodies of men near us here. There are detachments at Holly Springs and Senatoba, the present termini of the railroads from the south, and all the people of the country are armed as guerrillas. Curtis is at Helena, eighty miles south, and Grant at Corinth. Bragg's army from Tupelo has moved to Chattanooga and proposes to march on Nashville, Lexington, and Cincinnati. They will have about 75,000 men. Buell is near Huntsville with about 30,000, and I suppose detachments of the new levies can be put in Kentucky from Ohio and Indiana in time. The weather is very hot and Bragg can't move his forces very fast, but I fear he will give trouble. My own opinion is we ought not to venture too much in the interior until the river is safely in our possession, when we could land at any point and strike inland.

To attempt to hold all the South would demand an army too large even to think of. We must colonize and settle as we go south for in Missouri there is as much strife now as ever. Enemies must be killed or transported to some other country. I enclose you some of my orders to show you how I stand on the nigger question. It is giving us much concern. We can work the men, but what can we do with the women and children? Ellen writes me she is going to pay you a visit. She wants to come and see me, but I cannot permit it. The camp is no place for women and children. Although all Memphis with

²Major General Henry Wager Halleck, supreme commander of the war in the West, was recalled to Washington in July, 1862, to take the post of general in chief of the armies.

its beautiful houses and country seats are at my disposal, I live in tents, ready to move at a moment's warning. I have great faith in Halleck but he is the only man yet who has risen equal to the occasion. [Ohio — —d miserable officers]³ Why not try to get some good colonels?

Your affectionate brother

W. T. Sherman

³Words in brackets were crossed out by John Sherman.

F

Receipts
Mem
Spec
Addi
Inter

Disburse
Appr
Ca
17
An
Ad
Jac

Expe
(in
to
Appr
sen
Purch

To

Summa
Cash
Cash

Friends of the Huntington Library

Financial Report

January 1, 1943, to December 31, 1943

Receipts

Memberships	\$5,360.00	
Special Contributions	375.00	
Additional Publications	51.00	
Interest on Savings Account	79.69	
	<hr/>	
Total Receipts		\$5,865.69

Disbursements

Appropriated for the purchase of:		
Californiana and Western Americana	\$ 633.24	
1789 English and American books, etc.	625.00	
American Cartoon Collection	460.00	
Advance for English Manuscripts	500.00	
Jacobean Room	2,200.000	
	<hr/>	
Total		\$4,418.24
Expense of clerical services, printing, supplies, etc. (including <i>Bill of Rights</i> brochure for distribution to members)	\$ 739.99	
Appropriated for Huntington Library publications sent to members	2,384.27	
Purchase of war bond (Williamson Memorial Fund)	100.00	
	<hr/>	
Total		3,224.26
		<hr/>
Total Disbursements		\$7,642.50

Summary

Cash in Bank January 1, 1943	\$6,349.65	
Cash in Bank December 31, 1943	4,572.84	
	<hr/>	
Excess payments over receipts		<u>\$1,776.81</u>

Cash Reserves

Special savings account at the Farmers and Merchants National Bank of Los Angeles \$2,939.06

Commitments

Appropriated for the purchase of:

Eucalyptus	\$100.00
Botanical Gardens	100.00
<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>	325.00

Total Commitments 525.00

Unexpended balance of Williamson Fund 20.00

Total Reserves and Commitments \$3,484.06

List of Contributors

9.06
GODFREY DAVIES

Editor; Research Staff, Huntington Library

5.00
0.00
4.06
BLISS, CAREY S.

Reading Room Supervisor, Huntington Library

BRACHER, FREDERICK G.

Assistant Professor of English, Pomona College

CHARVAT, WILLIAM

Professor of English, Ohio State University

CUTHBERT, NORMA B.

Head Cataloguer, Manuscripts Department, Huntington Library

WILLSON, DAVID HARRIS

Associate Professor of History, University of Minnesota

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,
REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,
of *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, published at Pasadena, California, for October 1, 1944.

State of California }
County of Los Angeles } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Dorothy Dowlatt, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

<i>Name of—</i>	<i>Post office address—</i>
Publisher, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.....	San Marino, California
Editor, Godfrey Davies	San Marino, California
Managing Editor	None
Business Manager, Dorothy Dowlatt.....	San Marino, California

2. That the owner is: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, and Trustees thereof: Archer M. Huntington, New York, New York; Robert A. Millikan, Pasadena, California; Herbert Hoover, Stanford University, California; William B. Munro, Pasadena, California; and Edwin P. Hubble, Pasadena, California.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (if there are none, so state.) None.

Dorothy Dowlatt
(Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of Sept., 1944

(SEAL)

Gilbert L. Brown.
(My commission expires Feb. 4, 1947.)

44.

ed
he
is,
nt
vn
1.
ss
—
ia
ia
ne
ia
li-
A.
m
d-
e: